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MEMOIRS
OF THE
MILITARY AND POLITICAL
LIFE OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

FROM HIS ORIGIN, TO HIS
DEATH ON THE ROCK OF ST. HELENA:

COMPRISING A JUST OUTLINE
OF HIS SPLENDID AND UNEXAMPLED MILITARY CAREER, FROM
HIS FIRST ENTERING THE REGIMENT LA FERE AS LIEUTEN-
ANT, TO ITS TREMENDOUS TERMINATION AT THE

BATTLE OF WATERLOO;

A DETAILED VIEW OF HIS EXTRAORDINARY RETURN TO FRANCE
FROM ELBA, AND THE EVENTS OF HIS ENSUING
REIGN OF 100 DAYS.

EMBRACING ALSO

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE OF THE CONDUCT OF NAPOLEON DUR-
ING HIS VOYAGE TO ST. HELENA, AND WHILE IN EXILE, AND
OF EVENTS ATTENDING HIS CONFINEMENT, SICKNESS, AND
DEATH, WITH NUMEROUS PRIVATE DOCUMENTS, NOW FIRST
PUBLISHED IN THIS COUNTRY, AND COLLECTED CHIEFLY
FROM THE WRITINGS OF

DR. B. E. O'MEARA,
SURGEON TO NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA.



HARTFORD:
PUBLISHED FOR CHAUNCEY GOODRICH.
1822.

DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the tenth

L. S. day of October, in the forty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America, Chauncey Goodrich of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, to wit—: "*Memoirs of the Military and Political Life of Napoleon Bonaparte, from his origin, to his death on the rock of St. Helena: comprising a just outline of his splendid and unexampled military career, from his first entering the regiment La Fere as Lieutenant, to its tremendous termination at the battle of Waterloo; a detailed view of his extraordinary return to France from Elba, and the events of his ensuing reign of 100 days. Embracing also an authentic narrative of the conduct of Napoleon during his voyage to St. Helena, and while in exile; and of events attending his confinement, sickness, and death, with numerous private documents, now first published in this country, and collected chiefly from the writings of Dr. B. E. O'Meara, Surgeon to Napoleon at St. Helena.*"—In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "*An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned.*" And also to an act, entitled, "*An act supplementary to an act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Book, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.*"

CHAS. A. INGERSOLL,

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,

CHAS. A. INGERSOLL,

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

PREFACE.

THIS work has no higher claims than that of a compilation. The author has availed himself of most of the publications which have appeared relative to the wars, government, and character of the extraordinary man who is the subject of it. He is not aware that this subject has before been touched upon by the pen of a citizen of the United States; he has however seen one publication that purports to have been written by "an American," which nevertheless bears conclusive internal evidence of being an English production. Among the numerous publications which have appeared relating to the life and character of Bonaparte, few are characterised by candour and impartiality. They have nearly all proceeded from the admirers or enemies of this wonderful man. This is not only true of the French, but equally so of the English authors. The events of the last thirty years, in which Napoleon has taken so distinguished a part, have occasioned strong feelings, partialities, prejudices, and animosities, which have pervaded all Europe, but particularly the two great rival nations, England and France, who have been the soul of this long and desolating contest. Where the national mind is so strongly imbued, few individuals can claim an exemption from feelings which have pervaded all ranks from the throne to the cottage. And aside from the influence of strong national feelings and prejudices, it is natural to view the conduct of extraordinary men through a false medium; the splendour which surrounds their name, the result of great achievements, fascinates the multitude, and hurries them into an excess of admiration; whereas those whose prejudices have been shocked, or interests attacked, receive from the same causes a deeper and more deadly malignity. It seems to be the fate of such extraordinary individuals not to be considered as *men*; their virtues and vices are so magnified and viewed in a false light that they are either feared and hated as demons, or "as gods adored." This in an eminent degree has been the case of the subject of this work. Perhaps no man ever lived who was so much admired, extolled and beloved on the one hand, and detested, slandered and vilified on the other, as Napoleon Bonaparte. His virtues were the balm of Gilead with some, which healed all the wounds of the body politic; and his vices were the Bohun Upas of others, which poisoned social order, and spread a deadly infection throughout the civilized world.

All however must admit that he was the most wonderful and extraordinary man the world has ever witnessed. His rise, progress, and fall, are without example in their general character, aside from the striking incidents which they present. His career of "glorious war," is unprecedented in ancient or modern times; and his personal exaltation and power, are removed at equal distance from any example. And that the same extraor-

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dinary destiny should attend him to the last, his *fall* is equally extraordinary with his rise and exaltation. Perhaps this is the most marvellous and sublime feature in his wonderful career. What can give so sublime and exalted an idea of the power and greatness of an individual as to view him as the object of the hostility of half the civilized world; to contemplate emperors, kings, princes, potentates of all the nations in Europe, uniting and forming a solemn league against *one man*. He falls before this vast combination of power; but the extent and magnitude of the means by which he was overthrown, exalt him if possible, higher than he stood before. How great was his fall! from a throne, and we can almost say from the sovereignty of all Europe to the chief magistracy of an insignificant Island: from the dominion of half Europe to that of a few acres of land! But great as was his fall, it was not irretrievable. From obscurity, from exile, and from contempt, he rises as upon the wings of destiny to his former exaltation, and seats himself again on the throne, from which he had been driven by all Europe in arms. His restoration is a grand episode in the wonderful drama of his life. He falls again by the same means; but his greatness does not end with his power. His enemies still contribute to exalt him in his misfortunes; although fallen he is not degraded; he is still to be considered as an

———“ Archangel ruined
Or the excess of glory obscured.”

Without power, and a prisoner, he continues the terror of his enemies, and to alarm all Europe. The great and magnanimous allies make common cause to confine him on a rock in the Atlantic ocean. The close of the drama is not less extraordinary, or less dignity in it, than any other part of it.

Whatever concerns such a character must excite curiosity and interest; hence it is that for twenty years the world has been inundated with books of every name and description concerning this extraordinary man.

This volume contains a sketch or outline of his life, from his first entering into the army to his death. The early part of his career having been so often written, is passed over briefly, and the latter part, or the period from his first abdication is intended to have been full and complete.

We have endeavoured to give the work as much interest and variety as possible, and have carefully collected most of the incidents and anecdotes with which his life abounds, excluding those however, which evidently want authenticity. Our materials have been drawn from the most approved and authentic sources, and we have sedulously aimed at correctness and impartiality. We have attempted a free and popular style, and at the same time to avoid vulgarity or impurity of diction, and to preserve that degree of dignity which the subject required.

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INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the extraordinary names which the records of man have presented to the world, whether in ancient or modern times, that of NAPOLEON BONA-PARTE stands *alone*—being in advance of the front rank. In vain we consult the annals of the most celebrated nations that have appeared in different ages of the world, which from their celebrity in arts or in arms, have exalted human nature, and which afford the most numerous examples of individual heroism and renown, for a parallel character. Rome, during a long course of triumphs, of perils, and of glory, boasts of distinguished warriors, statesmen, and orators—she had her Fabii, her Marcii, and Gracchi—a Coriolanus, Marius, and Cæsar—Cicero, Hortentius, Brutus and Cato; she had wise politicians,—heroes in war and sages in council; yet among all her distinguished names which have come down to posterity, there is no *one* which unites *every idea of greatness*. And although she was long mistress of the world, and although with her war was an employment, and the only one worthy of honourable men, she produced no military character who will compare with the peerless hero of modern times. Cæsar conquered the Gauls, subdued the Germans, ‘overcame the Nervi,’ reduced the Britons to subjection, and conquered his rival and his country. He extended the dominions of Rome, increased her power, spread the terror of her arms, added to her conquests and her treasures, and procured for himself a mighty name. But at the period of his exploits, Rome was arbiter of the world, was surrounded by her allies, and had no powerful nations as enemies. The Gauls and northern nations although nu-

merous and warlike, were semi-barbarians, and ignorant of the art of war, which circumstance, notwithstanding their numbers and ferocity, rendered them a very unequal enemy. Cæsar, having overcome his great rival, and intimidated or subdued his enemies, acquired supreme power; but he only lived to acquire it—there was but a step between his final triumph and his fall; he did not, like Bonaparte, survive his greatness; the same stroke deprived him of power and of life.

Carthage, the great rival and enemy of Rome, affords one name, which for military renown, is unrivalled among the ancients. It was not with Hannibal as with Cæsar; he had to contend with an enemy equal in military prowess and skill, having experienced commanders, and veteran and disciplined legions; superior in every thing else, and aided by numerous and powerful allies. It was not Rome, against which Hannibal commenced the second Punic war, but all Italy; yet so uncertain are the events of war, and so capricious is fortune, that when from his successes nearly all the allies of Rome had abandoned her cause, and united with her powerful enemy, she retrieved her sinking fortunes, and finally conquered the man whom the great Fabius himself had deemed invincible. No war perhaps, was ever conducted with profounder views of policy, with more skill, generalship, perseverance and success, considering the relative means of the parties, than that in Italy by the Carthaginian Hero. It is true, he failed in his object of conquering Rome, and not only so, but was defeated himself; yet it was a failure which conferred upon Hannibal immortal renown, and procured him the character of the greatest military commander, which the world had ever witnessed. The causes which led to the failure of Hannibal in the conquest of Rome, deprived him of some portion of the glory he might have acquired, yet at the same time they tended to develope his capacity and resources as a commander, and gave him a

military reputation which he might not otherwise have attained. In this war, which lasted sixteen years, the contest on the part of the Carthaginians was sustained in a great measure by the *personal* exertions of Hannibal; his forces were at first entirely inadequate to the object; he was without magazines and granaries, without allies, removed from his country, and apparently abandoned by it, as he received no succors nor scarcely any countenance from home. There never was so protracted and desperate a contest which depended so much upon one man. With the Romans the reverse of this was true. The nation, fighting for its existence, made a most desperate effort; men, provisions and supplies of every description, were furnished; the levies in a single year amounted to more than eighty thousand; yet with such extraordinary means and exertions, the events of the war were almost uniformly disastrous to them. The Roman soldiers were superior to the Carthaginians, and they had greatly the advantage in numbers, and possessed great facilities of supplying all the munitions of war, and of furnishing constant reinforcements. Neither were they destitute of experienced and able commanders; it was such men as Fabius Maximus, Paulus Emillus, and Marcellus, with whom the Carthaginian hero had to contend. What an astonishing idea does it give us of the capacity, the resources of mind, and the skill of Hannibal, when we consider, that in the country of an enemy, and that enemy so powerful and warlike, possessing the best soldiers in the world, experienced commanders, and numerous allies, he could maintain a war for sixteen years, not only with advantage, and credit to himself, but with uniform and uninterrupted success. He is perhaps the only commander who can say he was never defeated but *once*. In one day, on the plains of Zama were lost the fruits, the toils, and the triumphs of sixteen years of successful war; yes the loss on that day was infinitely greater, it was a loss which to noble and patriotic minds includes all

others, the loss of country. With the fortunes of Hannibal, sunk those of his country; on that day Carthage, the great rival of Rome, and which had so long disputed with her the empire of the world, fell from her proud eminence in the rank of nations, never to rise again. In this disastrous day every thing was lost but the reputation of Hannibal, and the glory of his achievements.

The fall of a great man is a sublime spectacle, and excites the respect of generous and noble minded enemies. But it forms a disgraceful page in Roman story, that that powerful nation should have pursued a fallen man in his misfortunes; and should have manifested such an apprehension of an individual, although deprived of all power and influence, reduced to the condition of a fugitive, as to deprive him of every asylum, and to break through the sanctity of treaties to procure his destruction.

But this stain upon the Roman name is not without examples. In modern times the world has beheld a "holy alliance" of all the great Powers of Europe against *one man*. The hero of antiquity, to whom we have alluded was only the object of hostility and jealousy of one powerful nation; but the hero of modern Europe occasioned a combination of all the great powers, against him. In what a dignified light, does it exhibit the members of the "holy alliance" to view them formed into a league, and uniting all their resources for the purpose of conquering a single individual. And how does it exalt the character of this man, to consider him as the object of the hostility of all the nations of Europe. Had not these events actually taken place, and were they not too public and notorious to admit of doubt, they would be deemed incredible. In all the manifestos published during this war, it was uniformly declared by the holy league that they did not wage war against France, but against Bonaparte. The war was declared not to be national, but personal; its object was not France, but Bonaparte, who was

denounced, as a usurper, and outlawed, not only from the pale of royalty, but from all the rights of humanity. The success of the contest of all the crowned heads of Europe against a single individual, does not exempt the former from any portion of the contempt which the transaction is calculated to inspire. Was any thing requisite to bring royalty into utter contempt, this Holy League, ostensibly, against the person of Bonaparte, but more against the principles of liberty and the rising spirit of the people, was calculated to produce that effect.

But the hostility and jealousy of the holy league against Bonaparte, did not end with his power; like the ancient hero, his *great and magnanimous* enemies instead of feeling respect for a great man fallen, a man of whom they had all purchased peace, and many of them their crowns by submission and supplication, they pursued him with a malignity as relentless as death, as insatiable as the grave.

As in his fall, so in his rise and in his career of prosperity and glory, he greatly surpasses either of the heroes of antiquity to whom we have alluded. With both of them, the influence of family and powerful friends aided their advancement to the high stations to which they attained; and if they were equally successful in war with the hero of modern Europe, their victories and conquests were much less glorious, and the consequences of them much less important.

The early advancement of Bonaparte was without any such powerful aids, and at the same time more rapid; his career as a soldier was more splendid and glorious, his triumphs were more distinguished, as the enemies whom he conquered, were more numerous and powerful, and in every respect possessed equal advantages for successful warfare. It was not barbarous nations which he conquered; but the most powerful kingdoms, possessing great resources, and a population, long habituated to war. It was not single states but all Europe combined, with which he had to contend,

and against which his arms were for a long time uniformly successful. He defeated their combined armies, he invaded their territories, he entered their capitals, and to use his own favourite phrase, he frequently "conquered peace" and dictated the law to Europe; and that too from the capitals of his enemies. He not only acquired supreme power, but did much towards "consolidating a great Empire," and nearly established universal dominion in Europe. Although once a humble, private citizen himself, in the height of his power he trampled thrones under his feet; made and unmade Kings, treating them as insignificant beings whom "a breath could ruin as a breath had made" demolished and established Kingdoms, razeeing some and enlarging others.

As a being of superior order, the world witnessed his career of success and glory with astonishment, and the magnitude of his power, the terror of his arms and the splendour of his achievements, for a period petrified his enemies with fear and alarm. His fame and glory, like a meteor shed a portentous blaze through the hemisphere of Europe which threatened universal ruin.

But the most exalted positions are the most unstable and dangerous; and the distance between the highest and the lowest stations is often infinitely small. What an astonishing vicissitude in the fortunes of an individual. The hero, terrible in arms, the emperor of a great nation, the conqueror and the arbiter of Europe, suddenly falls from his awful eminence to the level of a private citizen—yes lower than this, he becomes an exile and a prisoner. The man whose ambition seemed to compass the whole world, and who had conquered one continent, has neither a country nor a home—he, whom thousands once obeyed, and whose name was once a terror to kings, falls so low, that "there is none so poor as to do him reverence." As no other private individual ever had such a successful career of prosperity and glory, or attained such high

dignity and power, so we have no example of any one, when the evil day came, being overwhelmed with such dreadful reverses, or sustaining such an awful and tremendous fall.

The history of Bonaparte from the time he was constituted First Consul, to his abdication, is identified with the history of Europe. It is not proposed therefore to give his history *in extenso* ; but to present some of the most striking and interesting events and incidents of the life of a man, whose extraordinary genius, and whose unequalled achievements, however his character may be appreciated, must ever render him a subject of the highest admiration.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.



CHAPTER I.

The story of his origin—Is sent to a French Military Academy at Brienne—Anecdotes of his exploits while a Cadet—Admitted into the Royal Military Academy at Paris, and distinguishes himself by his unwearied diligence in study—Appointed a Lieutenant.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, a small town in the island of Corsica. He was the eldest son of Carlo Bonaparte, a lawyer by profession, whose wife, and the mother of Napoleon, was Letitia Raniolini. The early patron of Napoleon was general count Marbœuf, who had conquered the island of Corsica for France. The friendship of count Marbœuf, which was so advantageous to the Bonaparte family, particularly to young Napoleon, is said to have been occasioned by the personal beauty of his mother, and the improper and disgraceful attachment which subsisted between her and the count. But whatever may have been the origin or the cause of the attachment of count Marbœuf to the Bonaparte family, he evidently took a warm interest in the welfare of young Napoleon, and it was from his influence, with Mareschal de Segur, the French minister at war, that he was admitted into *L' Ecole Royale Militaire* at Brienne, in the province of Cham-

paigne. Here he acquired the rudiments of the sciences of war and politics, which he subsequently perfected and matured, by experience and an excellent understanding, and which afterwards enabled him to excel in the practice of war, and procured him the character of a great general, a conqueror, and an Emperor of the most powerful nation in the world.

The school at Brienne, was one of the thirteen Royal military colleges, established in the different provinces of France. These institutions were subjects of great favour with the Sovereigns of France, particularly the two last of the Bourbon family; were munificently endowed and possessed in an eminent degree all the advantages which can belong to such establishments.

At the head of this system of military Education was L' Ecole Royale Militaire at Paris. The pupils of this school were drawn from those of the Provinces; at the annual examinations, which were in the presence of the Royal Inspector, and two members of the French academy, a certain number of the pupils who had made the greatest proficiency in their studies, and whose good conduct was attested by the regents, were removed and admitted into the Royal military school at Paris, where their education was completed, and having graduated honorably were immediately attached to some regiment, or appointed to some military employment.

In 1779, at the early age of ten years, Napoleon, was placed at the Royal military school at Brienne.— Here he soon disclosed a peculiar temper; avoiding the sports, and withdrawing from the amusements of his fellow students, he devoted himself to retirement, and to his studies. He seldom mixed with his school fellows except in the character of a monitor, and his reprimands were often returned with blows, which he never shunned, or retreated from the assailants, however superior they might be in numbers.

The following fact exhibits at this early period an

indication of the peculiar character of his mind. A plot of ground belonging to the school was divided into lots, which the boys were allowed to cultivate, or appropriate to other purposes, for amusement, recreation and exercise. One of these allotments being assigned to Napoleon in conjunction with three others, he prevailed on his associates to relinquish their interest and privileges in the ground; and having acquired absolute dominion of his little territory, he took steps not only to cultivate it, but likewise to fortify and defend it. The cash sent him by his patron count Marbœuf, designed as pocket money, he expended in constructing a strong pallisade around his little domain, to protect it from the intrusion of the boys; and to increase the seclusion, he planted shrubs, of which he formed impenetrable arbours; a part of the lot he laid out into a garden, with great regularity and taste, the improvement and cultivation of which formed almost his sole recreation.

Napoleon appears to have had a dislike of the Latin language, and to have rejected it entirely, or at an early period to have withdrawn all attention from it; neither was it discovered at first that he made unusual proficiency in his studies, or that he applied himself with extraordinary intenseness.

It was the Mathematicks that seems first to have deeply engaged his attention, and disclosed his genius and resources of mind. Under the instruction of Father Patraut he engaged in the study of the mathematical sciences with great ardour and success. Military tactics, fortifications, engineering, and all the various branches of military science followed, and were pursued with increasing ardour and astonishing success. His attention to history, particularly that of the most celebrated nations of antiquity, Greece and Rome, was zealous and persevering; history appeared to be his most delightful occupation, and a great source both of pleasure and instruction. It is probable that reading of the great achievements of the heroes of anti-

quity, and the glory which attended them, aided by the natural bent of his genius, and the strong ardour of his temper, at this early period, inspired him with that heroic martial spirit, that thirst for military fame, those exalted ideas of great achievements, and that daring and insatiable ambition, which afterwards appeared so conspicuous. The hours of vacation, and what time was not occupied with regular studies, he spent in his garden, either in its cultivation, or as a retreat for reading. So impervious had he rendered its borders, that it might have served as a seclusion for a religious recluse. The garden in its interior was cultivated with great neatness and attention. Here, with books upon his favorite subjects, the Mathematicks and History, he retired to enjoy the sweets of solitude, study, and reflection. Having read deeply he meditated deeply, and the admiration with which he perused the heroic achievements of others, inspired an ardour to imitate such noble and glorious deeds. His military and mathematical studies on the one hand, and his historical reading on the other, acquainting him in some measure with both the service and the practice of war; and whilst he perused the great and splendid actions of the statesmen and heroes of Plutarch, not regarding the injustice, tyranny and cruelty which too frequently characterizes them, he became excited to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. His whole soul was absorbed in the love of military fame and glory; and having in imagination already become a hero, upon paper and upon the ground, he formed the hostile corps in order of battle, commenced the attack, advanced, retreated; changed their positions, led on charges, planned the attack and defence of fortified places, performed various evolutions, arranged and directed all the movements of vast armies and obtained mighty victories.—He enjoyed in imagination what he afterwards did in reality, the music of the roar of cannon, the clangour of arms, the sound of the soul-stirring fife and drum, the shouts of victory, and the

groans of the wounded and the dying. The life of Marshal prince of Saxony was a favourite work with Bonaparte.

He pursued his military and mathematical studies with great intenseness; but his attention being entirely engrossed with these, he paid no attention to Belles Lettres, and he even neglected the liberal and polite accomplishments, considering them unworthy the attention of a soldier. He did not like the great Marlborough, seem to calculate that those who could not be gained by power, might be gained by the art of pleasing; he considered flattery and the arts of the courtier disgraceful; what he could not command by force, he relied upon acquiring by stratagem. His comrades called him the Spartan, which name he retained until he left the school at Brienne.

The attachment of Napoleon to Corsica was conspicuous. When the archbishop according to custom, was performing the ceremony of confirmation and the receiving of the communion, with the boys of the school, he asked Bonaparte, as he did the rest, his christian name, he answered very loud, but the name of Napoleon, being uncommon, it escaped the attention of the Prelate, who desired that it might be repeated, which Bonaparte did with much apparent impatience. This induced the minister who assisted to observe to the archbishop, "Napoleon! I do not know that saint," "Parbleu! I believe it" said Bonaparte, "the saint is a Corsican." From the circumstance of his being a native of Corsica, and that Island having been reduced under the dominion of France, the term "French vassal" was frequently applied to Bonaparte by his school fellows. This irritated him extremely, and he retorted with severity; he often declared a belief, that it was his destiny to deliver Corsica from its humbled condition and rescue it from the dominion of France. The name of Paoli, he never mentioned but with reverence, and he seemed ever to meditate the patriotic design, which that officer failed of accom-

plishing, the deliverance of his country. Genoa had added to its degradation by transferring it to France, and the gallant but unavailing resistance which this occasioned, involved it in the greatest calamity. From these considerations, and the ardour of his attachment to his country, he felt an inveterate hostility towards the Genoese. His fellow students to try the strength of these feelings introduced to him a young Corsican who arrived at the school, as a Genoese; immediately Bonaparte's countenance kindled into rage, and with the velocity of lightning he flew at the boy, who by the interference of those present, was with difficulty rescued from the danger and violence to which he was exposed from the rage and indignation of Napoleon.

He took great interest in the public transactions of his native country, always manifested the greatest reverence for it, and never spoke of its gallant resistance to France but with enthusiasm. The successes of the Corsican patriots filled him with raptures; he had frequent conversations with the French officers who happened at Brienne, upon the Corsican war; he would reproach them with great vehemence for exaggerating their own advantages, and for claiming the honour of victories, where, he affirmed, their numbers were vastly superior. In speaking of a particular engagement, he observed, "you say that there were six hundred of the French in the action; I know there were six thousand, and that they were opposed only by a few wretched Corsican peasants."

At this early period he was austere and overbearing in his conduct; reserved and proud in his manners. His behaviour was free from the frivolity and instability of youth; his actions even upon the most trifling subjects, were not hasty and inconsiderate, but proceeded from thought and reflection; his decisions were peremptory, his resolves immovable, his firmness inflexible, and his whole deportment characterized by obstinacy and eccentricity. If his companions offend-

ed him, he never forgave them, he sought satisfaction immediately if it was in his power ; but if not, as was frequently the case in consequence of his usually being on the weak side, he scorned to make complaint to the authority, but retaining his resentment, meditated retaliation and revenge in silence.

In the frequent instances of insubordination of the scholars, Napoleon was either a leader himself, or selected to advocate the cause of others, and therefore frequently suffered severe chastisement. He vindicated himself with intrepidity and firmness ; neither promises or flattery on the one hand, nor reproaches on the other, could move him ; punishments intended to humble and disgrace him, and the raillery of an ungenerous comrade or of a powerful superior were received in sullen silence.

The boys had formed themselves into a sort of military establishment, having company and battalion officers, who wore the usual badges and decorations of the French uniform. These appointments being made in a popular way were generally the rewards of some distinction or service, or what was so considered by the boys ; and their official badges were of course deemed insignia of merit.

In this corps Bonaparte was elevated to the rank of captain by the unanimous voice. But from his inflexible behaviour and unaccommodating manners, he incurred displeasure, and was soon summoned before a Court martial called in due form, and being convicted of the charges presented against him, was degraded from his command. But if he felt the disgrace, he was too inflexible and proud to acknowledge it, and he submitted to the sentence in silence.

The loss of his rank, however, was more than compensated, by the advantage which it gave him over the younger boys whose favour he acquired by encouraging their sports and promoting their warlike plays ; and having associated himself with them he was soon constituted Supreme Director of their diversions. This

was a situation suited to his genius and his aspiring temper; he extended his authority until it embraced most of the youths of the school, introduced a new discipline and mode of warfare. He divided the comrades composing his command into two parties which he alternately called the Romans and the Carthaginians—the Greeks and the Persians.

It being more difficult to represent the mode of modern warfare, in which artillery forms so conspicuous a feature, he adopted that of the ancients; he not only disciplined, arranged, and led on his troops to battle, but he exerted himself to rouse their courage, and excite their enthusiasm by glowing speeches, and his own heroic actions. The struggles for victory were often long, obstinate and doubtful. He recalled his troops by reproaches, when they fled; revived their ardour by exposing himself to the greatest dangers, and sustained their courage by his own bravery.—These conflicts being frequently repeated, became more warm, and the palm of victory on each successive trial was disputed with increased ardour and perseverance; until the games which originated in sport assumed a character so serious that the authority were obliged to interfere to suppress them. The earnestness with which victory was contended for, was often attested by the wounds of the combatants. On the attention of the authority being attracted to these hostile sports, the young general Bonaparte was sharply reprimanded, and the renewal of these battles prohibited.

Being denied the only exercise to which he was attached, Napoleon retired to his favourite retreat, where he resumed his former occupations and studies. The following winter, 1783, drew him from his seclusion, and always fertile in expedients, he resolved to open a winter campaign upon a new plan. Having first tried the ancient, he now adopted the modern mode of war. From the attention which he had bestowed upon the study of fortifications, he was desir-

ous of witnessing in practice, what he had acquired in theory. Collecting a number of his comrades, and putting himself at their head, they proceeded with their gardening implements to collect at particular points, in the great court of the school, large quantities of snow. Bonaparte, in the mean time, was occupied in tracing the boundaries of an extensive fortification ; entrenchments of snow were formed, forts constructed, bastions and redoubts erected, and the whole works soon completed according to the exact rules of art.

The report of these extensive and scientific fortifications spread abroad ; great curiosity was excited, and crowds flocked to witness and admire the warlike operations of the young General Bonaparte.

Numerous assaults were made and repelled, various military manœuvres were performed, and great impetuosity in attacking and firmness and resolution in defending the works were exhibited. Bonaparte directed the whole operations, sometimes heading the assailants, then conducting the defence ; always active, expert and bold, he often surprised and astonished the spectators, and acquired great applause. The authority, feeling more inclined to encourage, than to repress these hostile games, praised those who were distinguished for activity and courage ; the sports continued during the winter, and until the works were demolished by the heat of the vernal sun.

The following incident is an evidence of the violence of the temper, and the roughness of the manners of Bonaparte.

The anniversary of St. Louis, the 25th of August, was a holiday with the pupils, who were indulged in pleasures, amusements and demonstrations of joy almost without restraint ; all punishment being suspended and all subordination having ceased, the day did not often close without furnishing a catalogue of accidents and disasters.

By an old custom of the college the pupils over

fourteen years of age, had the privilege of purchasing a certain quantity of gun powder, of preparing fire-works, and of discharging small cannon, musketry and other fire arms. At the celebration of 1784, being the last year that Napoleon remained at Brienne, he affected great coldness and indifference on the occasion; whilst his comrades were all activity, animation and hilarity, he was gloomy, sullen, and silent. Retiring to his garden, he refused to participate in the general rejoicing, but pretended to be engaged in his usual occupations and studies, without being disturbed or his attention arrested by the noise and confusion which every where prevailed. This perverse singularity, would not have attracted notice, but for an accident which occurred. In the evening, about twenty young men assembled in a garden adjoining that of Bonaparte, the proprietor of which had promised to entertain them with the exhibition of fire-works. During the performance, a spark fell upon a box containing several pounds of powder, that had been forgotten to be removed, which instantly exploded, to the no small confusion and alarm of the company; some had their legs and arms broken, others were dreadfully burned in their faces, and the wall for several paces was broken down. In their consternation and endeavours to escape, some rushed upon the fence; separating the garden from that of Bonaparte's, broke down some of the palisades, and attempted to enter; but were repelled by the proprietor, who armed with a pick axe, resolutely defended his frontier and drove back those who were attempting to escape from the flames; and the resistance and violence, which the affrighted fugitives experienced from Bonaparte, increased the general confusion and added to the number of the wounded.

At the examination which soon took place, by the royal inspector general M. le chevalier de Renault, this officer, well versed himself in the art of fortification, and who owed his own preferment to his talents

and honourable conduct, was well calculated to discover and to appreciate genius, and its results, when judiciously directed. He readily decided that Bonaparte's acquirements in military science entitled him to be sent to *L' Ecole Royal Militaire* at Paris, notwithstanding the representation of his masters of several occurrences unfavourable to his promotion; Bonaparte accordingly arrived at the military Academy at Paris, on the 17th of October 1784.

It has been remarked of him, that at the time he quitted the school at Brienne, his temper was overbearing and irritable, that he often endeavoured to controul the actions of the other youths; sometimes he excited their indignation by his sarcasms, but never feared their vengeance, or shrunk from their endeavours to punish his ill-timed interference; he bore their attacks with firmness, and repelled them with violence, and with various success. No threats, either from his equals, or his superiors, nor no impending danger, seemed to appal him; and he appeared as insensible to their applause, as to their displeasure. Sternly independent, and confiding in himself alone, respecting no talents in another which he could not employ to his own purposes; intriguing where he could not command, firm in his resolves, impatient of restraint, and disdainful of authority; his character was as remarkable for its turbulence, as for its inflexibility.

At the School at Paris, Bonaparte's exertions were principally directed to complete his knowledge of the mathematicks; under the instructions of the celebrated Monge, he laboured with unwearied diligence.—It being generally considered at this time, that the artillery and engineer corps were the only ones in France, where favouritism and interest had no influence, and where merit afforded any tolerable prospect of promotion, Bonaparte determined to enter one of these as soon as he had obtained the necessary qualifications, and passed the requisite probation.

From three hundred pupils, which were at the

school, he selected for his associates Lauriston, a youth of phlegmatic temper, and Dupont, a daring and fearless young man. At his first examination in 1786, he had made such proficiency, under the instruction of Monge, that he acquitted himself with great credit, and in the month of July, was permitted to enter as a Lieutenant, into the regiment *de la Fere*, then in garrison at Auxone. While at the school at Paris, he spent his leisure hours in one of the bastions of a small fort, called "Lieu Brienne." Here he was often seen with the works of Vauban, Muller, Cohorn, and Foland open before him, drawing plans for the attack and defence of this little fort according to the rules of military science.

On joining his regiment he did not remit his attention to the theory of his profession; he passed the day in examining the fortifications of the garrison, and part of the night in the study of military details.

He frequently in conversation with the officers of the regiments expressed opinions, which, by the higher orders, and the partizans of royalty, were considered as factious. He censured freely all regulations which abridged the privileges of the people, and even those intended to restrain the excesses which grew out of the inefficacy of the laws, or the laxity of their administration. His opposition to all the measures of the government became confirmed and uniform, and all endeavours to convince him of their justice and propriety were unavailing.

The following year, 1786, his patron, general count Marbœuf died, which deprived Bonaparte of his protection and influence; and of what was of more immediate importance, the pecuniary assistance which he had afforded him, which subjected him to some inconvenience, as his pay as Lieutenant was scarcely adequate to support the appearance which his rank required. He perceived with complacency, the operation of causes calculated to disorganize the state of society which had so long existed in France; and

waited, although not without impatience, for some political agitations, which might present a field for his military genius and acquirements, and open a path to preferment and celebrity. In a conversation with some officers, whilst walking in the Champ de Mars, which turned upon public affairs, Bonaparte, having declared against the king, excited great indignation with all present; the dispute became warm, and Napoleon, although opposed by all, defended the opinions he had advanced with great firmness and intrepidity. The dispute ran so high, that in a moment of vehemence and passion, those opposed to Bonaparte seized him and were about to throw him headlong into an adjoining stream; but before they had proceeded far in the execution of their design, they perceived the rashness and injustice of it, and desisted from their purpose. He gradually withdrew from their society entirely, and if he did not disclose his sentiments, they were neither changed nor abandoned.

The sagacious and reflecting mind could not but discover at this period, various indications of a political revolution, or at least of civil commotions. The numerous venal factions which existed among the nobility, the clergy, and the people of Paris; the corruptions and abuses of the government; the burthensomeness of taxes, the oppressions of the nobility, the rapacity of the clergy, the operations of the press, the diffusion of light and intelligence, and the prevailing spirit of faction and insubordination, seemed to indicate an approaching convulsion. These considerations did not escape the attention of Bonaparte; they made a strong impression upon his mind: increased his ardour, exalted his hopes and emboldened his language.

CHAPTER II.

The French Revolution—The conduct of Bonaparte—His enthusiastic avowal of the principles of "*Liberty and Equality*"—and open hostility to the Royal Family—Condemnation and execution of the king.

THAT tempestuous revolution, which in its progress shook the foundations of civil order throughout Europe, threw France into an awful convulsion, pulled down those in 'high places,' and exalted those in low, crushed the thrones of kings, and made kings of private citizens, burst upon the world in a manner truly astonishing.

A despotic and arbitrary government, for many ages, had been "gathering up wrath against the day of wrath;" abuses of every description had grown up; the increasing privileges of the higher orders, their wealth, power and immunities, and the corruption and profligacy of the court increased the oppressions, the poverty, and the wretchedness of the people; the long and glorious wars of Louis XIV. had exalted and strengthened the monarchy at the expense of the nation, and the glory and pageantry of the king was contrasted with the poverty and misery of his people. It was discovered, that the glory and grandeur which the monarch had acquired, was but a poor reward for the toils and sacrifices, which the nation had sustained, during a long period of war; which had burdened it with debt, gave rise to new, and aggravated old abuses of power, and degraded and oppressed the people.

At the time that these political disorders had attained to their height, the impervious gloom of ignorance and superstition, which had long enveloped the nation in moral darkness, was beginning to be dissipated by the light which that most powerful of all engines the press, is calculated to diffuse, even where it cannot be said to be entirely free.

Although the mass of the people of France, were at

this period in profound ignorance and superstition, yet she possessed a numerous and enlightened literati. She had men eminently learned in every department of science; many of them having long deplored the consequences of that degrading ignorance which brooded over the nation, had exerted themselves to dissipate the pervading darkness, and many patriotic and liberal works, of a character highly popular and fascinating, were published, and distributed with great diligence throughout the kingdom. These publications, had in some measure prepared the public mind for the operation of the more important causes growing out of the glorious struggle between Great Britain and her colonies in America. The war of the revolution was professedly a war for *liberty*; it led to an examination and discussion, both in America and in England, of the first principles of government, of the "rights of man," and of the origin and nature of monarchy.

The French officers and soldiers, who had been engaged in the American war, in some measure had the spirit of the revolution infused into their minds. Being engaged in the same cause with the Americans, they imbibed the same feelings, and in no small degree adopted the same principles. This was an important school, where political science, as well as the art of war, was acquired.

It was natural, therefore, for those who had fought for liberty abroad, to look into the political state of their own country; and it was a painful reflection to all, who had contributed to establish the independence and freedom of America, to perceive the oppressed and degraded condition of their own country. The light, shed abroad by the American struggle, contributed, greatly, to hasten that mighty revolution, which agitated not only France, but all Europe. It served as a torch, applied to the combustible materials, which had been accumulating for ages; an awful explosion ensued, terrible in its consequences. The contest in its origin was between the oppressed, and their op-

pressors ; the former making a desperate struggle to throw off their political degradation, or to rise armed with their chains, and break them over the heads of their oppressors.

The prevailing disorders, and the almost universal uneasiness and complaints of the people, led to the calling of the States-general, as the only means of removing the disorders, and repressing the tumults of the kingdom. They were met by the king on the 4th of May, 1789. Violent jealousies and animosities, soon disclosed themselves, and a contest arose relative to voting in one, or separate chambers. The elements of political dissention and violence, collected with the rapidity of lightning, and seemed to portend a dreadful storm.

Count de Mirabeau, a man of energetic and powerful eloquence, and the leader of the popular party, attacked the ministers with great ardour and effect ; he boldly and with great earnestness declared the existence of a dangerous conspiracy on the part of the Court, against the Assembly.

The ministry was suddenly dismissed, of which Necker was a member, a man of great popularity ; and a new one appointed composed of the most violent partizans of royalty, and avowed enemies of liberty. The report of this event, accompanied with the additional circumstance, that Necker the favourite of the nation, was sent into exile, being circulated, occasioned universal consternation and alarm ; fear, grief and indignation were depicted in every countenance ; the theatres were immediately closed by order of the people, the busts of Necker and the duke of Orleans, covered with crape, were carried about the city ; the more daring, openly declared that the king ought to be dethroned and the duke of Orleans appointed his successor ; all the bells were rung, and the people collected in crowds in the public places in the city, where street orators endeavoured to increase their alarm and inflame their indignation, by impressing

them with a belief, that the late disorders would call down upon their heads the military vengeance of the government. In this state of confusion and consternation, a German regiment commanded by the prince of Lambesc appeared in the streets to disperse the multitude; and the commandant having imprudently struck an old man with his sword, the report of which operating like a spark applied to a magazine, was succeeded by the cry, "to arms! to arms!" The vast multitude, like a mighty cataract, agitated and foaming with rage, rushed to the scene of action and of danger; and the troops were driven out of Paris, amidst the execrations of the people.

But the tumult, anxiety and alarm, did not subside. A general apprehension prevailed, that Marshal Broglie, commandant of all the corps in the vicinity of Paris, was preparing for an attack upon the citizens of the metropolis; the night brought no sleep to the people, but was spent in securing weapons, and preparing for their defence; every house became a fortress, and every citizen a soldier. In the morning, although no enemy appeared, all the shops were shut, all business suspended, and an awful anxiety and expectation pervaded the City. Whilst Paris was in this state of alarm and preparation, the national assembly was in the most perilous situation; bodies of troops were stationed so as to cut off all communication with Versailles, so that, in case of attack the inhabitants of that place could offer no resistance. But, "thrice is he armed who has his quarrel just;" the Assembly betrayed no symptoms of fear, confiding in the justice of their cause, the rectitude of their intentions, and the support of their fellow citizens.

On the following night the 13th of July, by an intercepted correspondence, it was discovered that M. de Fleseles, the Mayor of Paris, who had pretended to be in the views of the Citizens, had formed the design of betraying them into the power of marshal Broglie; who with a large body of troops was to enter the

City, the following evening, when it was supposed, that the people would be so overcome with fatigue, anxiety and the deprivation of rest the preceding night, that they could not resist the pressing demands of nature, for repose.

This was a momentous crisis ; on which was suspended the destiny of France, and the liberties of the people ; all was mystery, anxiety and hazard. What plans the ministry were forming, was unknown to the people within the City, and what the citizens were doing was equally unknown to the ministry.

No time was to be lost, as it was evident Broglie would reinforce the Bastille the ensuing evening ; it was therefore necessary to attack it that day ; but this could not be done without a better supply of arms.

At such a crisis the citizens could not be scrupulous about the mode of procuring them. There was a deposit of arms at the hospital of invalids, adjoining the City ; this was attacked, and surrendered without much resistance. Having availed themselves of this magazine of arms, a vast and mixed multitude of all ages, and conditions, armed with all sorts of weapons, proceeded to attack the Bastille.

It is as difficult for the imagination to conceive of a multitude of forty thousand whimsically armed, marching to attack a "strong hold" of despotism, which was both a fortress and a prison, as it is to conceive of the anxiety which prevailed, when upon the events of a few hours, not only their own safety, but the freedom or slavery of their country were suspended.

But the Bastille was attacked with an enthusiasm and heroism which the highest animation of liberty alone could inspire. The garrison having demanded a parley, received for answer, "*deliver the keys,*" from a thousand voices. The assault was furious and desperate, and although the resistance was resolute and determined, this "strong hold" of tyranny and of power, was taken in a few hours. The victims of this great castle of Despotism, who for years had been entombed

ed in its infernal dungeons, dragging out a miserable existence, shut out from the world, and the glorious orb of day, which enlivens it, were liberated. The dismal cells of incarcerated victims, where no beam of light and no cheering ray of hope ever penetrated, were rummaged and the instruments of vengeance and of torture, long concealed and used in secret, brought forth to the view and indignation of the world.

The fall of this high altar and great castle of despotism, into which it had been meditated to doom the National Assembly, brought down the ministry with it. The passions of the people were so inflamed, that they could not be satisfied with a victory, without some victims. Accordingly M. de Launay the governor of the Bastile, and M. de Flesselles, the mayor, were barbarously slaughtered, and their heads, mounted on long pikes, were carried about the City, as bloody trophies of the triumph of the people.

The fall of the Bastile, and the dismissal of the ministry, tended in some measure to calm the public mind, and to establish the security and authority of the National Assembly.

This august body, headed by the patriotic M. La Fayette, and the intrepid and eloquent Mirabeau, proceeded to deliberate upon the subject of a constitutional charter, for the government of the nation; and having framed a constitution, it was presented to the King, who readily accepted it. The King's speech, on the occasion, which was suitable and appropriate, was received with the most lively enthusiasm, and shouts of "*vive le Roi*," resounded from all quarters.

But the popularity of the monarch was of short duration. On the 20th of June a vast multitude, comprising all the elements of confusion and disorder, led on by two desperadoes, Santerre and Legendre, a butcher, proceeded to the palace of the king, and nearly overwhelmed the unfortunate monarch and his family in irretrievable ruin. An attempt in the National Assembly to conciliate the hostile factions, had little ef-

fect in calming the public mind, or in guaranteeing the safety of the royal family. On the night of the 10th of August, Danton, one of the leaders of the jacobin faction raised the cry of "*to arms ! to arms !*"—all the bells were rung, the city proclaimed in a state of insurrection; the most furious assault was made upon the palace, which was resolutely but unsuccessfully defended by the Swiss guards, with some grenadiers, and a body of royalists. They were overpowered by numbers; the Swiss were nearly all slaughtered, and their remains exhibited on pikes. Of all parties engaged in this attack, about three thousand lives were lost. The king in a moment of distraction took the unaccountable resolution of throwing himself and family into the arms of the national Assembly; and before he quitted the palace, gave strict orders not to fire on the people. This rash step precipitated his ruin; violent and desperate men at this period had obtained the ascendancy in the national legislature; the unfortunate monarch and his family were sent to prison; and not only the ministers, the ladies of the court, and the pensioners of the family, but many thousand persons suspected of being the partizans of royalty, were either seized and imprisoned upon pretended accusations, or assassinated by marauding cut-throats, set in motion by the leading jacobins. From the violent proceedings of political demagogues, the licentiousness of the people broke over all bounds, personal security was at an end, tumult, consternation and alarm became universal.

These important events had not passed unobserved by Bonaparte, nor failed of making a deep impression upon his mind. He was among the numerous crowd who at an early stage of the revolution flocked to Paris under an expectation, in some way of deriving advantage from the political storm which was beginning to agitate the nation.

After the death of his patron count Marboëuf, Bonaparte left his regiment and returned to Corsica, where

he found his mother a widow, and in indigent circumstances, with several small children dependant on her for support. Whilst he remained under his paternal roof, he renewed his application to study, with an increased ardour which sprung from an increasing attachment to his profession. His application, however, was less intense than when at the military school at Brienne, where his studious habits had considerably impaired his constitution ; and although his frame was firm, possessed great strength, and was capable of sustaining much fatigue, he always had the appearance of weak and delicate health.

The natural temper and genius of Bonaparte, and the principles which he had early avowed, left no doubt as to the part which he would take in the political contests of his country. His aspiring ambition, and his thirst for military fame, would not permit him to neglect so favourable an opportunity of displaying his military talents, and of placing himself in the high road to preferment. Bold and fearless, he despised the timid and despicable policy, of disguising his sentiments, and acting according to circumstances ; he avowed with enthusiasm, his approbation of the principle of that *decree* which abolished all *distinctions of rank*. How far Bonaparte at this period, in abandoning the cause of the King, for that of the nation, was influenced by principle, or from the impulse of popular feeling, can not be determined. From his subsequent conduct it has been considered, that his motives were altogether selfish, and that he never entertained any regard for republican principles, or for the rights and freedom of the people. But it is neither novel nor singular, for those, who, with the honestest motives, and with all the ardour of youth, have embraced popular principles ; from success, and the influence of personal ambition, if not from a real change of sentiments, subsequently, to adopt different views and pursue an opposite line of conduct. The extraordinary success of Bonaparte, which gave him the power

of playing the tyrant, must at this time have been as far from his thoughts as from those of every body else ; and as he could not at this period be supposed to have entertained any expectation of such extraordinary fortune as should clothe him with power, which might enable him to establish despotic authority, his subsequent conduct affords no evidence of what were his principles or motives at this period. That a young man of an ardent, and restless temper, daring, fearless, and ambitious, impatient of restraint and authority ; and although uniting with these qualities a mind naturally decisive, overbearing, inflexible and arbitrary, should engage with sincerity and ardour in a popular cause, and feel a real respect for the great principles of equality and liberty, is certainly not extraordinary. Indeed it is difficult to find a young man of genius, whose situation is that of a private individual, who does not venerate these principles ; being founded in the fitness and nature of things, an attachment to them is implanted in the constitution of the human mind. It is true the natural principles and affections of man are strangely perverted by education ; but real genius breaks through the scholastic restraints which may be prescribed for it, and ranging at large, views things in their natural order and fitness, and forms opinions accordingly. It is certainly true with most individuals, that when they enter upon the stage of human action, their hearts are right, although their heads may be wrong ; but as they progress in the world and witness the selfishness, the faithlessness and the injustice of mankind, as all must, more or less, they gradually change their views of things, and having experienced injustice themselves, learn to practice it upon others. The solicitude which they at first feel for their own rights, as members of the human family, and no way distinguished from the rest, leads them to respect the rights of others ; but the operations of the selfish passions, the prevalence of injustice, violence and duplicity, whilst they deprave the heart, tend to substitute

in the place of original principles of rectitude and justice, a system of personal expediency.

When the highest animation of liberty was enkindled throughout France, and the liveliest enthusiasm prevailed, it cannot be a matter of surprise that Bonaparte should have participated in the common feeling, and embraced those principles so congenial to the noble mind, unsophisticated by education, and uncorrupted by the world.

But whatever may have been, at this period, Bonaparte's real sentiments, as it respects the rights of the people, and the principles of free government, there can be no doubt that the prospect of military fame and preferment, which was his strong passion, had great influence in determining him to embrace the popular cause. He knew that the throne of Louis XVI. was surrounded by flatterers who were interested in supporting the most flagrant abuses, which interposed an insuperable barrier to the reward of real merit; and that the military system had become so corrupt that the royal favour had long been the only road to preferment and distinction. But from whatever considerations Bonaparte joined the cause of the nation against the monarchy, he engaged in it with his characteristic ardour, enthusiasm and intrepidity.

The first appointment he received after the commencement of the revolution was to the command of a battalion of national guards at Ajaccio, his native town, in Corsica; the discontents of the people having occasioned the organization of a military force in that Island. This was in the year 1790, until which time he had remained in Paris. Having little service to perform, whilst in this situation, he renewed his application to his professional studies.

The coalition of the crowned heads of Europe against republican France, to repress the spirit of liberty, and check the contagion of example, commenced a war, which was as unholy in its object, as it was disastrous in its consequences; and which opened an ex-

tensive field for the observations of Bonaparte, and a fair prospect for his employment and fame. The skilful operations of the contending armies, and the accuracy with which they were detailed, afforded him an admirable opportunity of examining and maturing that system of warfare which combined such wonderful activity, energy and resources ; and which formed the basis of his subsequent unexampled military career.

The patriotic La Fayette had the command of the armies of France, but his virtues and talents rendered him obnoxious to the ignorant and unprincipled demagogues who had acquired an ascendancy in the National Assembly. His arrest having been determined on, he left the army and quitted the French territory without having attempted to occasion the desertion of a single battalion of the troops. He was in hopes of escaping to some distant part of Europe which might afford an asylum ; there to remain until the mighty evils which afflicted his country, the offspring of the counsels of desperate and unprincipled men, might restore the nation to its senses, and lead to the triumph of better men and better principles. He however had not proceeded far before he was stopped by an Austrian patrol, conducted to Luxemburg, thrown into prison, which occasioned a sickness, that came near depriving him of his life. He was confined in different prisons by Prussia and Austria until Bonaparte procured his release in 1797, previously to which, general Washington, then president of the United States, remembering in his affliction the friend of America, who had fought for its independence, interfered in his behalf with the Emperor of Austria, and attempted to procure his liberation.

The Assembly appointed Dumourier who had been minister at war, and a very extraordinary man, to the command of their armies ; marshal Lukner, Kellerman Montesquieu, and several other general officers attached themselves at the same time to the rising party.

The authority of the National Assembly was formally consigned to the Convention, on the 21st of September; which immediately proceeded to decree "*the eternal abolition of royalty in France.*" The decree was followed with the loudest exclamations of "*vive la nation,*" and ordered to be proclaimed throughout the departments of France and to the armies. About the same period the movements of the troops under general Dumourier upon the frontiers, were rapid and successful. Several battles were fought, the most important of which was that of Gemappe, which decided the fate of the Netherlands. The Austrians lost 4000 men, killed, wounded and prisoners, and the French no more than 900; the latter fought with an ardour and enthusiasm, which soldiers fighting in the cause of liberty alone can feel. The Austrian forces consisted of veteran troops, disciplined and experienced in war; whilst those of the French were chiefly recent levies, and "citizen soldiers." But the latter were fighting for the French Republic, and the independence and liberty of their country—and the former for a despotic master.

The reprehensible and ill advised coalition of the sovereigns of Europe against republican France, confirmed the suspicions of the monarch, inflamed the popular prejudices and animosities against him, and accelerated his destruction. On the 11th of December he was brought to the bar of the Convention for trial, and was defended by Deseze, Tronchet, and Malesherbes as counsel. The trial closed at the end of thirty four days; when the solemn question was put, *What punishment shall he suffer?* Among those who voted for "*death,*" was the Duke of Orleans, his kinsman, and member of the royal family.

His sentence being determined, he requested a respite of three days, which was refused.

The sentence was passed at 2 o'clock in the morning on the 19th of January, and he was ordered to be executed within twenty-four hours. On the morning of

the 21st he was taken to the place of execution, which was surrounded by a vast multitude of people; and large bodies of military to overawe them, and guard against any attempt to rescue the unfortunate monarch from the awful fate which awaited him. With a firm step, and a countenance undismayed, he ascended the fatal scaffold, accompanied by his confessor and two or three municipal officers; and looking round upon the people he attempted to address them, when the ruffian Santerre, who commanded the military, cried out, "*no speeches! no speeches!*" and immediately ordered the drums to beat. He applied his head to the block with serenity; in a moment the fatal ax fell and severed it from his body; it was taken by Santerre, who holding it up reeking with blood, exclaimed "*this is the head of a traitor.*"

Thus fell Louis XVI., and with him apparently the monarchy of France; which under three dynasties had existed nearly fifteen centuries. His personal character was adorned by many virtues; and if as a sovereign, he possessed little energy or capacity, nevertheless he was characterized by any conspicuous faults or vices. He held the sceptre with a feeble and trembling hand; and from the want of firmness, vigour and decision, the virtues of his character may have contributed to the calamities of his reign, and the dreadful catastrophe which terminated it. His fate is an awful lesson to kings; and a conspicuous example of the instability, and the tendency to violence and internal convulsion, of arbitrary governments, which possess no ameliorating, and renovating principle, by which the abuses of power may be checked and repressed in a lawful and peaceable manner. The *sense of injury* which always follows great political and national wrongs, where they cannot be redressed in a constitutional and peaceable way, although like the internal fire of a volcano, it may be smothered for a season, yet like that, the time will come when it will burst forth

in an awful explosion, spreading far and wide the burning lava of inflamed and infuriated passions.

The war on the frontiers was prosecuted with great ardour, but not with the same success on the part of the French, who in a desperate battle fought on the 18th of March at Neerwinder were routed, and obliged to retreat. In a tremendous action at Louvain, on the 21st, the good fortune of the French returned; the contest, dreadfully sanguinary, lasted a whole day, and terminated in the total defeat of the Imperial troops.

The treasonable designs of Dumourier being discovered, he was superseded in the command by general Bournonville, who with four commissioners was ordered to arrest him. The commissioners, having arrived at the head quarters of the army at St. Amand, disclosed the object of their commission to Dumourier, who, finding it impossible to bring them into his views of establishing a limited monarchy, seized them, and threw them into prison. In a manifesto communicated to the army on the 2d April, he unfolded to the troops his designs, and discovering no immediate symptoms of dissatisfaction, he imagined it met their approbation. But he soon found himself mistaken; the next day the troops were in a state of open rebellion, and it was with difficulty he escaped himself, being fired upon by a body of volunteers. He fled to the camp of the enemy, from whence he issued another manifesto, in which he enlarged upon his own services, unfolded his designs and the reasons for them, and animadverted upon the conduct of the convention, its unpardonable neglect of the army, its proscription of the best patriots and citizens of France; and concluded with an animated description of the dreadful evils which afflicted his country, and the more tremendous which threatened it, should the reign of the jacobins continue.

By means of the treasonable conduct of some of the

inhabitants of Toulon, lord Hood, commanding a British fleet, succeeded in getting possession of that port.

The British landed some troops and proceeded to erect redoubts on the heights, which were supplied with cannon from the French ships of the line, that had fallen into their hands; and they received large reinforcements of Spanish, Sicilian, and Sardinian troops.

Barras and Freron, commissioners from the Convention made a desperate effort to retake the place and drive out the British; and the Convention affording them large supplies of money, and every assistance in their power, they soon collected a large body of troops and an immense supply of artillery. On the night of the 30th September, the French by an incredible effort attacked and captured fort Faron, the acquisition of which was so important as to render the possession of Toulon precarious. A council of officers which was called, determined that it was necessary to re-obtain this redoubt. The attack was desperate and sanguinary; and the French after a most determined defence abandoned the fort with the loss of near three fourths of their number. But such was the perseverance and fury of the French that they stormed and took possession of the heights of Cape Brun, which hazarded the safety of the garrison.

It was in the operations of Toulon that Bonaparte was first actively engaged in military service. He had re-entered the corps of artillery as lieutenant; and was recommended to Barras by his countryman Salicetti, deputy from Corsica, and one of the commissioners with the army at Toulon. Barras immediately promoted him to the rank of general and gave him the command of the artillery destined for the reduction of the arsenal. This extraordinary advancement of a young and inexperienced officer, must either be considered as a wonderful evidence of the sagacity of Barras, or as one of those instances, where hasty and inconsiderate measures, from their successful results

are considered as having proceeded from wisdom and foresight. This situation gave our young hero an opportunity to display his extraordinary military talents, which he did not fail to improve to the best advantage, both to himself and to his country. His active and spirited exertions had great effect upon the fate of Toulon, and soon evinced the wisdom of his appointment.

His first operation was an attack upon Malboussquet, one of the principal, and most important outposts of the enemy, which in a great measure commanded the town and arsenal. For the reduction of this post he erected a strong battery on the heights of Arenes, which enabled him to cannonade it with great effect. The enemy, alarmed for the security of this position, took immediate steps to dislodge the French from the height they occupied; proceeded under cover of night with a body of more than 2000 men, to ascend the height, and succeeded in surprising the battery; but instead of occupying the position, they pursued the French with great impetuosity down the heights, who, taking advantage of the dispersion and disorder which this step occasioned, attacked, and compelled them to abandon the advantages they had acquired.

The success of this affair gave great expectations to the French, and stimulated their exertions. They erected new batteries, attacked several outposts, made nearer approaches to the town, and threatened a general assault. The French troops, amounting to 40,000, were constantly increasing; those of the allies did not exceed 12,000. The situation of the garrison was critical and alarming. The French prosecuted the siege with great ardour. On the morning of the 17th of December, they erected two new batteries on fort Mulgrave, which, together with those previously erected, maintained a tremendous cannonade and bombardment, that greatly annoyed the enemy and destroyed many of their works. With great impetuosity, having their bayonets screwed on, they stormed and

entered the fortifications, and succeeded in ascending on the backside of the mountain, although deemed inaccessible, which enabled them to occupy a height that overlooked Toulon. The English troops behaved with their usual coolness and bravery, but the enthusiasm of the French overcame all resistance, prostrated all obstacles, rendered them insensible to dangers, and impetuous and furious in their attacks.

The young general Bonaparte, who had the direction of all the batteries shewed himself to be a young "*god of war*." His activity and exertions astonished every one ; he infused his own soul into the troops he directed ; rendered them as furious as lions, and as fearless as himself. This siege was a fine field for the developement of his geuius, and his extraordinary activity, heroism and exertions, procured him great applause, and marked him as one of the most promising candidates for military glory and renown. During the heat of the conflict, Barras complained to Bonaparte of the direction of a gun which had been pointed by his order : " Attend to your duty as a commissioner," replied the young general, " and I will do mine, or be answerable for the consequences with my head."

During the siege at Toulon, a formidable insurrection broke out at Lyons, which was not suppressed without shedding rivers of blood. But the Convention, unconcerned at these internal disorders, and the tragical scenes which they occasioned, proceeded in their plans of *improvement* ; they formed a new callender, dividing the year into twelve months, of thirty days each, and christening the five intercallender days with the odd and uncouth name of *Sans culottidies*, and which were designed for holidays. Each month consisted of three decades of ten days each, the last of which was to be observed as a day of rest ; and the year and the era of the republic was to commence from the 23rd of September, the day of the first anniversary of the Convention. Christianity and the clergy were proscribed, the churches ordered to be shut ;

and what must be more shocking than this conduct of the Convention, is, that of the clergy themselves. The Bishop of Paris, his Vicars, and almost the whole ecclesiastical body, made a public and solemn renunciation of their offices and religion at the same time. Gregoire, bishop of Blois, known in the United States from the correspondence which took place between him and our countryman, Joel Barlow, was the only one who refused to renounce christianity ; but he declared a willingness to relinquish the emoluments of his office to the good of the republic. The Convention also passed a decree abolishing lotteries.

The war with the coalesced powers, on the frontier of the Netherlands, was prosecuted with astonishing vigour and success. Under the direction of Kleber and Lefevre, the French advanced like a mighty torrent which sweeps away every thing that opposes its course. The combined powers were compelled to retreat from place to place, and from one position to another with such celerity, and so rapid was the advance of the French, that their march although in the country of an enemy filled with troops, resembled the triumphal entry of armies into the capital of their own country. They advanced conquering and to conquer ; their march was one continual triumph, and their victories, when, and where, they found the enemy. Namur, where the allies attempted to check their career, was evacuated ; the strong defile at Lier, was forced, and a trumpeter sent before them to Antwerp, to announce their coming, that they might not be surprised with unexpected and unwelcome guests. They advanced and entered that city without opposition, where they found immense magazines of forage, and thirty pieces of cannon.

The republican arms were every where victorious ; the armies of the Rhine, and the Moselle, had their share of glory. The standard of the Republic was triumphant at Spire, where after two days sanguinary fighting, the Austrians and Prussians, were defeated

with great loss; at Tripstadt, at Newstadt, and at Treves. Landrecy surrendered without firing a gun, Quesnay followed the example, and Valenciennes fell into the hands of the victorious French. In the latter place they found immense military stores, cattle, corn, two hundred pieces of cannon, one million pounds of gun-powder, and six and a half millions of livres in specie. At Conde, the surrender of which soon followed, the victors possessed themselves of 160 pieces of cannon, 6,000 muskets, 300,000 pounds of gun-powder, 100,000 bomb-balls and shells, 1,500,000 cartridges, 600,000 pounds of lead, and 191 waggons of stores and provisions.

The unexampled career and rapid success of the republican troops, filled the allies with astonishment and dismay. The Prince of Cobourg, speaking of the allies in a letter to the Duke of York, remarked "we are, or seem to be, bewitched." The French stormed the Austrian entrenchments at Liege, and possessed themselves of the passes at the point of the bayonet; drove on and made a triumphal entry into Aix-la-Chapelle. Having crossed the Roer, they gave battle to the whole line of the Austrian posts, extending thirty two miles. A tremendous conflict ensued, which continued five days, when victory declared for the French, and the city of Juliers, fell into their hands, filled with cannon and munitions of war.

Cologne submitted to the republican troops, who were viewed by the inhabitants with demonstrations of joy. Coblentz, odious from its having been an asylum of the emigrants, after an obstinate defence surrendered; Frankendal followed the example, and the tricoloured flag soon waved triumphantly on the ramparts of Worms.

CHAPTER III.

Bonapartesent on an expedition to Corsica—it fails—he is thrown out of employment, and in great distress—He is appointed to command the troops of the Convention at Paris—Defeats the troops of the Parisians—His marriage—Appointed to the command of the army of Italy—His first successful and glorious campaign—Conquers all Italy, and obtains immense treasures.

NOTWITHSTANDING the activity and the heroic conduct of Bonaparte at Toulon, and the applause which it procured him, his prospects of advancement were far from being flattering. Having been ordered to Nice, he was arrested by Beffroni the Deputy, displaced from his command, charged with being a terrorist, and with sanguinary conduct towards the persecuted inhabitants, at the siege of Toulon. He however was soon released, but lost his command in the artillery, yet was not discharged the service.

Whilst he remained at Nice, he employed his time in professional studies, with an increased ardour, inspired by the operations of the war, which furnished great and valuable materials, to a mind so well versed in the theory of war, and so strongly imbued with military enthusiasm. On a particular occasion, one of his friends called at his apartment, long before day, and supposing that Bonaparte was asleep, and not wishing to disturb him abruptly, knocked softly at the door of his chamber; on entering which, he was surprised to find him dressed and deeply engaged, with plans, maps and books before him: "what," said his friend "not yet in bed?"—"In bed? I am already risen," answered Bonaparte. "Indeed," observed the other, "What, so early?" "Yes, so early, two or three hours are enough for sleep."

He hastened from Nice to Paris, where he complained of the treatment he had experienced to Aubry, then at the head of the military department of the commit-

tee of public safety. His complaints were not attended to, and he was only offered a commission in the infantry, which he refused. Indignant at this conduct, Bonaparte demanded his discharge, which was denied; he then asked permission to retire to Constantinople, with the view, no doubt, of serving in the Turkish army, but this was also refused.

In the year 1794, he obtained the command of an expedition fitted out against Ajaccio, his native town in the Island of Corsica, in which he failed, being repulsed in all his attempts by one of his own relations named Masteria, who was at that time in the British service. The expedition having failed in its object, returned to France.

His removal from the artillery and the ill success of the expedition to Corsica cast a shade over the military prospects of Bonaparte, depressed his spirits, threw him into obscurity and even distress. He was obliged to submit to the mortification of soliciting pecuniary assistance from his friends. He remained in this disagreeable situation, having no prospect of employment, that might afford him a support, much less that should open a road to military renown, until near the close of the year 1794.

After the establishment of the Directory as the Executive department of the Government, Bonaparte obtained the command of the troops of Paris, a situation, which, if it did not present a field for military activity and fame, tended to bring him into notice, and make him acquainted with the leading men of the different political parties. It afforded him however, one occasion which first displayed his extraordinary military talents.

The convention having continued in session three years, framed a new constitution of government, and transmitted it to the people, in connection with a decree they had passed, which required that the electoral bodies in organizing the new government should choose two thirds of the Deputies from the members

of the Convention, and that in case they did not, the Convention should itself, appoint that number from its own members. This decree was considered as violating the fundamental rights of the people, and the principles of the constitution which the convention had formed, as that purported to be an elective government. Great excitement was produced, and the Parisians in defiance of the convention, met in their primary assemblies and elected their deputies without regarding the decree. The convention employed a military force to disperse them; the Parisians were terrified at the time, but continued to inveigh against the arbitrary conduct of the convention, and persisted in their designs of disregarding the obnoxious decree. The Parisians, having transformed the citizens into soldiers, on the 4th of October 1795, marched against the troops of the convention, at the head of whom, was the young general Bonaparte. A most desperate and sanguinary conflict ensued; the Parisians fought with the greatest bravery and enthusiasm; but the military skill and generalship of young Bonaparte decided the victory. Vast multitudes of citizens were collecting from all quarters to reinforce the Parisian troops, but they were overawed by the signal success of the conventional troops, and the great slaughter that had been made. About one thousand of the Parisians were killed; the insurgents submitted, and the power of the Convention was established over the Capital, and exercised without mercy; the leaders of the Parisian faction being punished with great severity.

Soon after this appointment, he, with his aids, waited upon Carnot, one of the directors, at his house. As they entered the room, the appearance of Bonaparte, a little olive complexioned youth, surrounded by five or six tall young men, who seemed to pay him great attention, and from his engaging manner, bowing with an air of ease and self possession, he excited particular and marked observation. A celebrated writer who was present, inquired of the Director who the

gentlemen were? "the general and his aids of the armed force of Paris;" answered Carnot. The marked contrast between Bonaparte and such generals as Santerre and others who were as great ruffians and savages as Tecumseh, the British Brigadier, in the late war between that country and the United States, was peculiarly striking. "What is his name?" said the author: "Bonaparte,"—"Has he great military talents?" "So it is said." "What has he done remarkable?" "He is the officer who commanded the troops of the convention on the day of Vendemaire," replied the Director. The countenance of the gentleman suddenly changed as if by an electric shock; he was one of the electors of Vendemaire: retiring to a distant part of the room he observed the young hero with thoughtfulness and silence.

As Bonaparte entered the room, a young lady was playing on a piano forte, which was suspended on his appearance; and perceiving the attention of all present wholly directed to himself, he with great affability observed, "I have put a stop to your amusements; some person was singing, I beg I may not interrupt the company." The director apologized, but the general insisting, the music was resumed, and after two or three national airs had been played, Bonaparte took his leave. On his departure he became the subject of conversation; and from this short interview the sagacious mind of Carnot, perceived and predicted that the young general possessed an aspiring military genius, and an energy of character which would not permit him to remain long upon the threshold of military fame and glory.

The discernment of Barras was not less discriminating than that of Carnot; he discovered that Bonaparte was endowed with an extraordinary energy and activity of mind, united with great personal bravery and an ardent thirst for military fame. He promoted him to the command of the army of the interior, a situation important from the responsibility attached

to it, from its high rank, the emoluments, and what was of greater consequence, the influence accompanying it.

About this period, Bonaparte married Madame Josephine Beauharnois, widow of viscount de Beauharnois, who had been a member of the national Assembly and was president of that body in 1791; he subsequently served in the army under general Biron as adjutant general, afterwards succeeded Custine in the command of the army of the Rhine; but being suspected by the Convention, was suspended in his command, arrested and consigned to the guillotine in July 1794. Madame Beauharnois was likewise proscribed and thrown into prison, and would have shared the fate of her husband had it not been for the fall of Robespierre. Barras, who became her protector, and is said to have maintained an improper intimacy with her, brought about the alliance; in which it was observed he provided his mistress with a husband and his friend with a wife. The fortune of Madame Beauharnois was 500,000 livres. At the same time on the recommendation of Barras, and from his own high opinion of Bonaparte's military talents, Carnot offered him the command of the army of Italy. Barras connected these two proposals, offering him Madame Beauharnois and 500,000 livres and the army of Italy, telling him at the same time, that the lady and the army were equally necessary to a youthful and aspiring general. This appeal both to his ambition and his gallantry, was promptly met, but which part of the proposition was most highly appreciated by Bonaparte, his subsequent conduct affords the best evidence. If the ardour of his pursuit of military fame, left no room for the tender affections, it was apparent that the Lady and her fortune would be no obstacles to his military career.

The first operations of Bonaparte in Italy were marked by an energy, activity and vigour which formed a presage of the successful career which followed,

and of those great achievements that astonished the world, and placed him in the very first rank of military heroes.

He arrived at the head-quarters of the army early in the spring, and only waited for the disappearance of the ice to commence operations. The army had endured great hardships and privations, were destitute of shoes, clothing, and almost every thing which their comfort required. To silence their complaints, and reconcile them to their situation, as well as to endear himself to the soldiers, Bonaparte lived familiarly with them, participated in their hardships and privations, conciliated their esteem, and redressed their grievances. He attempted to revive their spirits, arouse their courage, and raise their despondent hopes; "my brave fellows," said he, "although you suffer great privations, you have no reason to be dissatisfied; every thing yields to power; if we are victorious, the provisions and the supplies of the enemy become ours; but if we are vanquished we have already too much to lose."

The allies were greatly superior in numbers as well as in supplies, and they occupied all the heights and passes of the Alps. Hostilities were commenced on the 9th of April, by Beaulieu, the Austrian general, who with 10,000 men made a spirited attack upon the French post at Voltri; the troops stationed here retreated in good order to Savona. On the following morning the Austrians renewed the attack, with 15,000 men, and having drove in all the out posts of the French, appeared before the redoubt of Montenotte, the last of their entrenchments. This redoubt was defended by 1,500 men, commanded by Rampon, who made his soldiers, during the heat of the attack, take an oath to defend it, or perish in the entrenchments. The repeated charges of the Austrians were unavailing; their advancement was checked, and they were kept the whole night at the distance of pistol-shot.—During the night, the right of the French army, under the command of general Laharpe, took a position be-

hind the redoubt: and Bonaparte, followed by Buthin and Massena, brought up the troops of the centre and left, in the rear and flank of the Imperialists. At day-break the following morning the action was commenced with great vigour, and with various success; the contest continued for some time, when Massena appearing, commenced a furious attack upon the rear and flank of the enemy, filled them with terror and confusion, and decided the fate of the day. The fruit of this, the first victory obtained by Bonaparte in Italy, was 3,500 prisoners, of whom sixty were officers, several standards, and 1,500 killed.

Bonaparte, following up the advantage he had acquired, removed his head-quarters to Carcara the following day, and pushed on Laharpe to Sozello, and from thence by rapid and concealed marches to Cairo; while Massena was ordered to gain the heights of Dego, and generals Menaud and Joubert to occupy, one the heights Biestro, and the other the position of St. Marguerite, by which movements the French army was placed on the other side of the Alps.

Early on the next morning, the 13th of April, Augereau attacked and forced the defiles of Mellisimo, while Menaud and Joubert drove the enemy from all the neighbouring heights. The Austrian general Provera, with 1500 men, entrenched himself in the ruins of an old castle, on the summit of the mountain of Cossaria, a very strong position. Bonaparte, vexed at being checked in his march by a handful of men, gave orders for him to be summoned to surrender. Provera not readily complying, and requesting to speak with the commander in chief, Augereau formed his men in four columns and advanced against him. Joubert, who lead one of the columns, being wounded after entering the enemy's entrenchment, and generals Banel and Quenin, who lead two others, being killed, the attempt did not succeed. At dawn of day on the 14th, the hostile armies faced each other. Whilst Augereau confined general Provera to his position, several regi-

ments of the enemy attempted to penetrate the centre of the French army, but were vigorously repulsed by general Menaud. Massena, in the meantime, was extending his line, strengthened by entrenchments and batteries; before one o'clock, P. M. it reached beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Dego. A vigorous attack was made upon the enemy by the division of general Laharpe, formed in three columns; one headed by general Causse crossed the Bormida with the water up to their middle, exposed to the enemy's fire, and attacked the right of their left wing; the second column passed the same stream, and fell upon the enemy, whilst the third turned a ravine to cut off their retreat. Being surrounded on all sides, the Austrians were exposed to entire destruction; so rapid and furious was the attack of the French columns, spreading death and terror around them, that they had not even time to capitulate. At the same time general Provera and his men, who had taken refuge in the mountain's top, from an enemy, the vigour and activity of whose operations were equally a matter of surprise and terror, surrendered as prisoners of war. This victory was not more rapid in its achievement than decisive and complete in its results. From seven to nine thousand prisoners were taken, and from 2000 to 2500 of the enemy killed.

Before dawn of light, the succeeding day, Beaulieu with 7000 men, with great spirit and bravery attacked and carried the village of Dego. A bold and vigorous attempt was made to recover it by Massena, but he was repulsed in three successive attacks; and general Causse, who led on the 99th demi-brigade, as he was on the point of charging the enemy with the bayonet, fell mortally wounded. Bonaparte coming near him whilst in this situation, collecting what strength remained, he asked if Dego was retaken. "The forts are ours," said the commander in chief.—"Then" replied Causse, "*vive la Republique!* I die contented." The victorious French soon possessed themselves of

Dego, routed and pursued the enemy who left 600 dead, and 1,400 prisoners.—To complete the advantages of the French, Augereau dislodged the enemy from the redoubts of Montezemo, that opened a communication with the valley of the Tanaro, which general Serrurier's division had already occupied.

The commencement of Bonaparte's operations in Italy, forms an epoch in modern warfare. The promptitude with which his plans were laid, the activity with which they were executed, the rapidity of his movements, the energy of his conduct, and the wonderful combination of design and of execution, surprised and astonished the enemy. In the course of a few days only, more had been done, than what experienced generals have been able to accomplish in the campaign of a season ; battles were fought, victories won, prisoners taken, the works of the enemy destroyed, their fortresses overcome, their magazines captured, cannon, arms and colours, acquired, and a numerous and well appointed army routed, nearly destroyed, and the richest portion of Piedmont conquered.

The Directory in their letter to Bonaparte observe ; “ To-day, general, receive the tribute of national gratitude ; merit it more and more, and prove to Europe that Beaulieu by changing the field of battle, has not changed his opponent ; that beaten in the north, he shall be constantly defeated by the brave army of Italy ; and that with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the republic.”

On the 26th of April, Bonaparte published the following address to the victorious army of Italy, dated head-quarters at Cherasco.

“ Soldiers ! In the course of 14 days you have acquired six victories, taken 21 stand of colours, 50 pieces of cannon, several strong fortresses, and conquered the richest portion of Piedmont : you have taken 1,500 prisoners, and killed and wounded more than 10,

000 men : you have hitherto, however, fought only for sterile rocks, rendered famous by your courage, but useless to your country ; and by your services, you have emulated the conquering army of Holland and the Rhine. Destitute of every thing, you have supplied every thing ; without cannon you have gained battles ; without bridges you have crossed rivers ; without shoes you have performed forced marches ; without brandy, and often without bread, you have spent the night in arms. Republican phalanxes ! the soldiers of liberty are alone capable of suffering what you have experienced, and your grateful country will owe to you a part of its prosperity. If the recovery of Toulon presaged the immortal campaign of 1793, your present victories augur a campaign still more glorious. The two armies, that but lately attacked you with audacity, now fly, in terror, before you ; and the base men, who ridiculed your misery, and inwardly rejoiced at the triumph of the foe, are abashed and tremble.

“ It is, however, not to be dissembled, that you have effected nothing, while there remains any thing to be performed. Neither Turin nor Milan are yet in your possession, and the ashes of the conquerors of the Tarquins are still trodden on by the assassins of Basseville.

“ At the commencement of the campaign you were destitute of every thing ; to-day you are abundantly supplied ; the magazines taken from the enemy are numerous, and the heavy and field artillery have arrived. Your native land has a right to expect great things from you, and you will justify its expectation. The greatest obstacles have been surmounted, but you have still battles to fight, cities to take, and rivers to pass. Is there one among you whose courage fails ? Are there any who prefer to re-cross the peaks of the Appenines and the Alps, and patiently submit to the insults of a slavish soldiery ? No,—such a one exists not among the conquerors of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Dego, and of Mondovi ; all burn to extend afar the

glory of the French nation ; all are eager to humble those arrogant monarchs, who dared to meditate the slavery of France ; all of us wish to dictate a glorious peace, that will indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices it has made : and every one wishes, on returning to his native village, to be able to assert with pride, that he was of the conquering army of Italy.

“ This conquest I promise to you, but on a condition that it is necessary you should swear to observe. This condition is, to respect the people whom you liberate, and to repress the dreadful pillages which are only committed by miscreants. Without the observance of this, the republican army will not be the deliverers of the people, but their scourges ; they will not be the honour of the French nation, but they will be disclaimed by their country ; your victories, your courage, your success, and the blood of your brethren who have fallen in battles—all, even their honour, and your glory will be lost. As to myself, and the generals enjoying the confidence of the troops, they will blush to command an army without discipline or restraint, and which recognizes no law, but that of force. Invested with the national authority, and rendered strong by justice and the laws, I know how to compel the few, who are destitute of courage and sentiment, to respect the laws of humanity and honour, should they dare to trample them under foot. I will not suffer brigands to sully the laurels of the army of Italy ; I will see that every regulation be rigorously executed ; marauders shall be shot without pity. Already some have fallen victims to this odious crime ; but I remarked with pleasure the eagerness and good conduct which my brave fellow-soldiers have displayed in executing their orders.

“ I proclaim to the nation of Italy, that the French army come to break their chains ; that the French people are the friends of all nations ; and I call on them to approach with confidence ; and I declare,

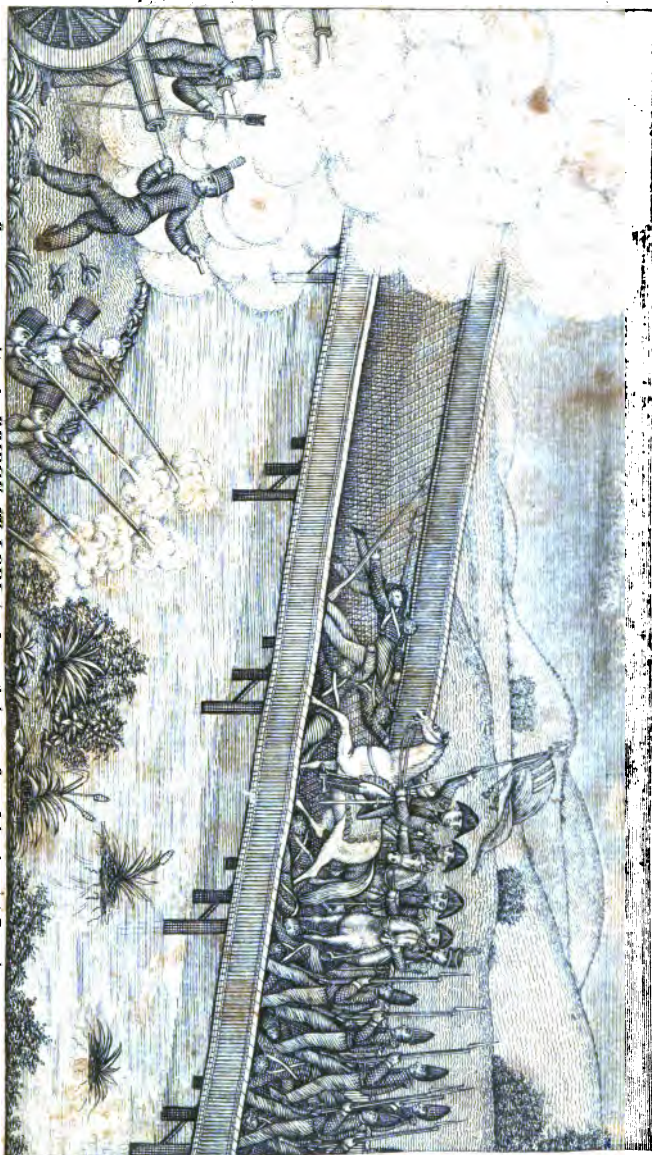
that their property, their religion, and usages, will be respected, that the French troops, in making war, will prove a generous enemy, and that they are the foes of those tyrants only, who enslave Italy."

In his dispatches to the Directory, Bonaparte informed them that he intended as soon as possible to send to Paris some of the finest pictures of Corregio, and particularly St. Jerome, said to be his master-piece. "But I confess," added the general, "this saint has chosen an unlucky moment to arrive at Paris; I hope however, you will grant him the honours of the museum."

The success of the French and the terror of the republican arms, alarmed all Italy. The senate of Venice ordered Louis 18th to leave its territories; the grand duke of Tuscany supplicated for favour; the king of Naples sent a minister to Genoa to negotiate for peace, and all the sea-ports of the peninsula were shut against the English.

To secure the route to Milan, it was necessary to drive the Austrians from the banks of the Adda, behind which they had retired, and having collected an immense quantity of artillery at a bridge erected across this stream at the town of Lodi, waited for the arrival of the French, feeling confident of defending the pass, and arresting their progress. Bonaparte, determined that no obstacle should oppose his victorious career, resolved to pass the bridge. Exposed to a shower of grape shot from the enemy's batteries, he succeeded in planting two pieces of cannon at the head of the bridge, on the side of the city; to prevent the enemy from destroying it, and the troops coming up, a column was immediately formed, to carry the pass. The French forming a battery of all their artillery, a tremendous cannonade was kept up for several hours, which filled the air with smoke and flame, and presented a scene terribly grand and sublime. The effect of this, not being decisive, the troops were formed in close column, with the second battalion of Carabineers at

Bengalis passing the BRIDGE AT LOUL in face of the cross fire of the Austrian Batteries.



their head, followed by all the grenadier battalions, when at a charge-step, amidst ten thousand voices, of "*vive la Republique !*" and with an enthusiasm which nothing but the highest animation of liberty could inspire, they approached the bridge, the very sepulchre of death, and a burning furnace of destruction ; the whole Austrian army with 30 pieces of heavy cannon being posted on the opposite side, and pouring upon it the most tremendous fire. The French advanced, and were swept away like a forest before a desolating tornado, and retreated ; they were rallied, but the slaughter was dreadful, and they retreated the second time ; when at the order of Bonaparte, Massena, Berthier, Cervoni, Dallemagne and Lasnes, placed themselves at the head of the column, and exclaiming " follow your generals, my brave fellows," rushed forward, over the dead bodies of the slain which covered the bridge, enveloped in smoke and flame and exposed to the tremendous fire of the enemy's batteries, all directed to this pass,—which to many a poor fellow became the isthmus connecting the two worlds, and time with eternity. The column reached the opposite side and immediately charged the enemy's batteries ; and at the same time, generals Augereau, Rusca, and Bayrand with their divisions having crossed the Adda at a ford below Lodi, attacked the Austrians suddenly in the rear. The contest was almost instantly decided ; the whole line of Austrian artillery was carried, their order of battle broken, their troops routed, dispersed, and the republican forces spreading terror and death in every direction.

The fruits of this splendid victory were twenty pieces of cannon, and between two and three thousand killed, wounded and prisoners. The wreck of the Imperial army, and their general, the unfortunate Beaulieu, abandoning Pizzighitone, Cremona and Milan, took refuge under the cannon of Mantua.

In his dispatches to the Directory after detailing the particulars of this memorable action, Bonaparte ob-

serves : " that although since the commencement of the campaign the republican troops had been engaged in many warm contests, none approached to the terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi." The French, following up their advantages, pursued the Austrians with great celerity ; they advanced to Pizzighitone which immediately surrendered ; and from thence pushed on to Cremona, which submitted to the same fate ; and the van guard having taken the route to Milan entered this city on the 15th, having on their march received the submission of Pavia, where they found most of the magazines of the Austrian army.

Such a rapid succession of victories was truly astonishing ; the whole of Lombardy was conquered ; the tri-coloured flag waved in triumph from the extremity of the lake of Como, and the frontiers of the country of the Grisons, to the gates of Parma.

The Austrians having evacuated Milan, when the French prepared to enter it, a deputation of the inhabitants laid the keys of its gates at their feet. Overwhelmed with sorrow and mortification, the archduke fled from his capital, and in the streets and squares passed through crowds of people who shewed neither joy or grief. A few days after, the people collected in vast multitudes to witness the entry of the French, who they hailed as their deliverers, most of them put on the national cockade. The Imperial arms were thrown down from the public buildings, and at the ducal palaces, the following ludicrous and sarcastic advertisement was posted up : " A house to let ; enquire for the keys at citizen Salicatti's, the French commissioner."

On the 14th of May, Massena entered the city with his troops, and was welcomed by a numerous deputation of the citizens, headed by the Archbishop. The same day, with great ceremony, and amidst general rejoicing, the tree of liberty was planted in the grand square. The entry of the " deliverer of Italy," was eminently brilliant : the splendid carriages of the no-

bility and *aristocracy* of the capital, went out to meet, and to salute the republican hero ; and returned in an immense cavalcade, amidst the shouts and acclamations of an innumerable multitude, and accompanied by several bands of musicians, playing patriotic marches : the procession stopped at the palace of the Arch-duke, where Bonaparte was to lodge. The ceremonies of the day were concluded by a splendid ball, at which the ladies vied with each other in expressions of patriotism and republican feeling, by wearing the French national colours in every part of their dress. The next day the "ready cash" of the Arch-duke, excepting the "pocket money" which he had taken with him, was emptied into the French national purse, followed the succeeding day by a splendid national fete, closed in the evening by a general illumination. The transactions of the capital were terminated by dispatching deputies into the different towns and villages, to instruct the people in the principles of liberty and equality.

The success of Bonaparte, and the immense spoils which had fallen into his hands, only stimulated his rapacity. Whilst, in a proclamation of the 21st of May, he informs the people of Lombardy that the French republic had sworn hatred to kings and fraternity to the people of all nations, and that the citizens of the republic, regarded the inhabitants of Lombardy as their brethren—he in the same proclamation demanded 20,000,000 of livres as a compensation for their deliverance : "the necessities of the army," says he, "for a country so fertile, and considering the advantages that must result from it."

The standards, amounting to twenty-one, the fruits and the memorials of the victories of the army of Italy, were sent to Paris, and presented at a public sitting, to the executive directory, amidst the reiterated acclamations of *vive la Republique*. As a mark of public acknowledgment of the services of the troops, and to encourage their ardour, the celebration of a *Fete des*

Victories was decreed on the 29th of May, which took place at Paris accordingly. It was a grand national pageant.

“ At ten in the morning a discharge of artillery announced the festival, which was to commence at noon in the *Champ de Mars*. In the centre of the field a statue of liberty was placed, decorated with various military trophies, having one hand resting on the constitutional act, and the other holding a baton, surmounted with the bonnet of William Tell. The platform, on which the statue was fixed, was elevated 12 feet on a diameter of 30 toises, and was approached by four steps, each 60 feet in length ; the circumference of the platform was ornamented with 14 trees, from which were suspended the trophies and standards of 14 armies, having their names inscribed on shields, placed at regular distances in front of the trees : the intervening spaces were filled with military ensigns, fastened together with garlands, in form of festoons. Behind the statue of liberty rose a large tree, from which were suspended, as trophies, the standards taken from the enemy, all united by garlands of flowers : in front of the statue an altar was erected, and on it were deposited crowns of oak and of laurel, which the executive directory, who occupied that station, were to distribute in the name of the gratitude of the country.

The constituted authorities took their stations on the mount raised in the midst of the *Champ de Mars* ; an immense crowd covered the extensive slope which runs round the field, while a cordon of the national guards of Paris enclosed the whole extent of the circle. Infantry and cavalry were ranged in order of battle in this inclosure, and a double line of troops extended from *L'Ecole Militaire*, to the steps of the mount facing them. A deputation of the constituted authorities proceeded to the military school, whither the directory had repaired, and soon after this the latter appeared, preceded by the ministers, the diplo-

matic body, the deputation of the constituted authorities, a vast number of military on horseback, and its own guard, the whole train marching in great state to the sound of military music. The directors were stationed in front of the statue of liberty, while the ministers and diplomatic corps took their places as had been previously concerted. The national guards on duty, divided into 14 bodies, representing the 14 armies, carried each a distinctive standard : to each of these corps were added a certain number of invalid veterans, or wounded soldiers, and care was taken to place them in the corps representing the army to which they originally belonged : these wounded soldiers, or veterans, conducted by officers, and accompanied with the colours of their respective armies, were to present themselves to the directory, who placed crowns on their standards. When all had taken their proper stations, the conservatory of music performed a military symphony by Louis Jadin ; after which a profound silence was observed, when the secretary-general read the decree, fixing the celebration of the festival, and pointing out its motive."

The success of the French, and the terror of the arms of the Republic, filled all the Italian States with consternation and alarm. The duke of Modena purchased a truce, for it could not be called a peace, at the enormous price of 10,000,000 of livres ; 7,500,000 to be paid to the Republic, and 2,500,000 in provisions and military stores for the army ; he was also to deliver twenty paintings from his gallery, to be selected by persons designated by the French.

Bonaparte having left Milan to go to Lodi, an attempt was made by the nobles and the partizans of Austria, to arouse the inhabitants to arms, to drive out their conquerors ; the tocsin was sounded, a report circulated that the Austrians were reinforced by 60,000 men, marching to Milan ; that the army of Conde had arrived on the confines of the Milanese ; and that the British had taken Nice. The tree of liberty was cut

down, hewn into pieces, and the tri-coloured cockade trampled under foot.

Bonaparte, informed of these proceedings, with 300 horse and a battalion of grenadiers, hastened back to Milan, ordered the leaders who were found in arms to be seized and shot, a number of distinguished persons to be arrested and held as hostages; imposed a fine for the discharge of domestics which had been done to induce them to take up arms, and signified to the archbishop and the nobility that he should hold them responsible for the public tranquillity. He issued a proclamation, charging the disturbances to the agents of Austria and the priests; declared those villages that had not complied with his order of the 25th in a state of rebellion, and directed his generals to march into them, with troops sufficient to suppress the insurgents, to set them on fire, and to shoot upon the spot all who might be found with arms in their hands. All priests and nobles in the rebellious communes were to be arrested and sent to France as hostages; all villages where the tocsin was sounded were to be instantly burnt, and those where a single Frenchman was assassinated were to pay a triple contribution of the sum annually paid to the government, until they should deliver up the assassin. The execution of these orders was entrusted to the generals. The place where arms might be found concealed, was subjected to a heavy fine, and every house in which muskets were discovered was to be burnt unless the proprietor would disclose to whom they belonged.

The severity of these measures restored tranquillity, and spread extensively a general panic.

Bonaparte removed his head-quarters to Verona, leaving a garrison. The enemy having fled into the Tyrol, he proceeded to invest Mantua, which required a formal siege, which the French possessed little means of undertaking. Intending to penetrate into the Tyrolese, the general addressed a proclamation to the warlike people of these lofty mountains, telling them

that he had occasion to pass through their territory to compel the court of Austria to a peace, necessary to all Europe ; and that their persons, property, laws and religion should be respected, unless they suffered themselves by the agents of Austria to be led into acts of hostility which would call down upon their heads the terrible vengeance of the French army.

Bonaparte proceeded from Tortona, to Modena, and from thence to Bologna, having received the submission of Urbino, the garrison of 300 men surrendering as prisoners of war ; and fifty pieces of cannon, with a quantity of arms and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. At Bologna, the cardinal legate with all the officers of the *etat-major* were made prisoners, and four standards, with 114 pieces of cannon taken.

Bonaparte, from a real or affected regard to science, treated the learned men with great respect and attention. Whilst at Milan, he wrote a letter by order of the French government, to the celebrated astronomer Oriani, in which he says :

“ The sciences,” said Bonaparte, in his letter to Oriani, “ which ennoble the human mind, and the arts which embellish life, and transmit illustrious actions to posterity, should be peculiarly respected in free governments. All men of genius,—all those who have obtained a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, in whatever country they may have been born. The learned did not enjoy in Milan the consideration to which they are entitled ; retired in the recess of their laboratories, they esteemed themselves happy, if kings and priests were kind enough to do them no harm. To-day it is not so ; opinion is free in Italy :—the inquisition, intolerance, and despotism are no more. I invite the learned to assemble, and propose to me their sentiments on the means necessary to be taken, or the aid they may require, to give new life and existence to the sciences and fine arts. All those who may be desirous of going to France will be received with distinction by the government. The

French nation sets a greater value on the acquisition of a learned mathematician, a painter of reputation, or any one who has distinguished himself, whatever may be his profession, than of the richest and most abundant city. Be you then, citizen, the organ of these sentiments to all at Milan distinguished for their learning."

This letter occasioned Oriani to wait on the commander in chief, and with others of a similar character, tended to conciliate the literati of Italy, and to attach them to the revolutionary cause. Bonaparte requested the professors of the University of Pavia to wait on him and propose the measures which in their opinion would give greater activity and success to that illustrious institution.

CHAPTER IV.

Armistice with the Pope—The success of Bonaparte excites apprehensions on the part of the Citizens, and the government—successes of the army of the Rhine—Pacification in the north—This leads the archduke Charles into Italy, when Bonaparte has to contend with all the forces of the allies—The battle of Arcola—victory of Rivoli—standards sent to Paris, and presented to the directory—The Pope breaks the treaty—Bonaparte attempts in vain to avoid hostilities with him—Victor invades the papal territories, and defeats the troops of the Pope; who sues for peace.

A DIVISION of the French Army arrived at Leghorn just as an English frigate was going out of the harbour, which was fired at, but without effect; and only a few hours before, forty English vessels fully laden left Leghorn.

At Florence, while Bonaparte was at dinner with the grand duke, a courier arrived with intelligence of the taking of the castle of Milan, which held out when the town surrendered. 2,800 prisoners, 150 pieces of

cannon, large quantities of powder, and military stores, were the fruits of the reduction of the castle. This intelligence, which was announced at the close of the entertainment, was unwelcome tidings to the grand duke; but if it was little calculated to increase the satisfaction which he felt in entertaining his distinguished guest; it confirmed the opinion that there was nothing left for him but submission.

On the 23d of June, an armistice was concluded with the Pope, which was to be followed by a definitive treaty of peace, to be negotiated at Paris, the terms of which were sufficiently humiliating to the successor of St. Peter, and the head of the church, once the most powerful sovereign in Europe. The pontiff, who once trod on the necks of kings, made and unmade sovereigns, disposed of States and kingdoms, and as the great high-priest and vicegerent of the Almighty on earth; established an authority as "lord paramount," and reigned over the heads of other sovereigns, was constrained to drink to the very dregs of the cup of humiliation. If the draught was bitter, it was one which his predecessors had liberally dealt out to others.

He was compelled to open his ports to French vessels, and exclude the flags of all nations at war with that Republic; to permit the French army to continue in possession of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, to surrender the citadel of Ancona; to give to the French republic 100 paintings, busts, vases, or statues, to be selected by commissioners to be sent to Rome for that purpose, among which were to be included a bust in bronze of Junius Brutus, and one of marble of Marcus Brutus; also 500 manuscripts to be selected in the same way; and to sweeten the whole, his holiness was to pay to the Republic 21,000,000 of French livres, most of which was to be in specie or gold and silver ingots.

About this period the successful career of Bonaparte began to excite in the minds of real patriots at home,

apprehensions for the Republic, and Rœderer, one of the principal journalists, in expressing his concern, alluded to the examples of Sylla, Marius, and Cesar, who triumphed over the liberties of their country by distributing among their troops the riches amassed from the nations they had conquered.

The directory, who, probably, were not themselves exempt from jealousy, if from apprehension, of the rising power of Bonaparte, to sooth his feelings wrote him a flattering and foolish letter, in which they say, that their confidence in him is daily increasing, that all good citizens are unanimous in the opinion that he is solely occupied with the glory and interests of his country; and request him to abandon the vaunting and calumnies of others to that contempt which they deserve. This letter from the directory, was criticised with great severity by La Cretelle and other journalists: it was remarked that "this inconsiderate homage paid to these great men, may one day be the ruin of their country; let us therefore say little about those, of whom posterity will say much—let us be reserved rather than ungrateful; the legions which exalted the glory of Rome would not have been dangerous to her liberty had she not intoxicated their generals by excessive adulation and praise."

These remarks, which were truly prophetic, made a strong impression on the mind of Bonaparte; and his letter in answer to that of the Directory, affords a lively evidence of his chagrin.

"CITIZEN DIRECTORS,

"I have received, with gratitude, the fresh proof of your esteem, which you have shewn me by your letter of the 18th Thermidor.

"I know not what these gentlemen want with me; they and the Austrians have attacked me together, but you have silenced them by the publication of your letter, and I have done for the Austrians; thus, at one and the same time, these double attacks of my enemies have failed. (Signed) **B. BUONAPARTE.**"

In a letter to gen. Clarke, relating to the death of his nephew, written about the same period, and whilst his mind appears to have been imbued with the same feelings, he says, speaking of the nephew of General Clarke, "he died gloriously in the face of the enemy, and suffered not for a moment. What reasonable man will not envy him such a death? Who is he, that, amidst the vicissitudes of life will not be thankful thus to quit a world so frequently contemptible? Who is he, among us, that has not regretted a hundred times, not to be thus withdrawn from the powerful effects of calumny, and of all the malevolent passions, which seem almost exclusively to govern the world?"

The victories and conquests of the army of Italy, had acquired for the French troops, the character of invincibility; and had inspired them with an enthusiasm and heroism which in a great degree rendered them so. Their successes however were not to be wholly ascribed to their own spirit and bravery, and the wonderful skill and talents of their leader, as something is to be allowed for the blunders of the allies, their want of concert and system, their presumptuous confidence in themselves and their affected contempt for the enemy with which they had to contend. Besides, the French carried with them, not only a physical, but a moral force; they were the soldiers of liberty, and the liberators of Europe. These sentiments had an astonishing effect upon the *people* of the country they invaded, and they often received them with open arms.

The armies of the north and the Rhine having been weakened by withdrawing supplies and reinforcements for the army of Italy, the hopes of the allies were directed to this quarter, and centered on the Arch-duke Charles, whose great military talents were to repair the disasters of the preceding campaigns, and chastise the presumption of the French Republicans. It was thought that it would be a strange thing if a "Prince of the blood" could not beat the upstart general of the

French Republic. "Who are these fellows?" said they, "without titles or dignities; generals of yesterday; mere mushrooms, who have sprung up from the hot-bed and filth of the French Revolution: we will drive them back into the obscurity from which they rose, and teach them better than to pollute our royal soil by their vulgar republican feet."

But how vain are the expectations of man; how surely do the insatuated counsels of pride and aristocracy bring mortification and ruin upon the heads of their authors! The same ill success attended the royal cause: they were every where defeated, in the North and in the South, on the Rhine and on the Adda. The campaign of 1796, upon the Rhine, was nearly equally glorious to the French arms as that in Italy. The republican troops commanded by Moreau and Jourdan, were uniformly successful; they were victorious at Kehl, at Radstadt, at Malsch, at Frankfort, and at Stutgard. The Archduke Charles, who was to chastise the presumption of the French generals, and Wurmser, were compelled to retreat from post to post, and from town to town, before Moreau and Jourdan, with such rapidity, that their movements were rather a flight than a march.

The numerous victories and the rapid progress of the French armies in the North, and the destruction of two armies in Italy, changed the confidence of the allies into fear and alarm: the Court of Vienna was panic struck; the empire was dismembered, and the very throne of Germany seemed tottering to its base. The duke of Wirtemberg and the marquis of Baden, entered into provisional treaties of peace with general Moreau, that were ratified at Paris, in which they ceded to the republic all their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and paid immense contributions. The Elector of Bavaria followed the example.

The pacification in the north, and the retreat of the armies, brought the Archduke Charles into Italy; where Marshal Wurmser had previously gone to suc-

ceed Beaulieu in the command ; and left the allies at liberty to direct all their exertions against the young champion of the republic, and the conqueror of Italy. Bonaparte was less like Charles the twelfth of Sweden, a mere "thunderbolt of war," than were many of his private soldiers. He was not less a Statesman than a General ; the judicious arrangements which he made to secure the states which he had conquered, and maintain the influence of the Republic, afforded almost equal evidence of his wonderful talents, as the many brilliant victories by which they had been acquired. His policy as a Statesman was only equalled by his wonderful talents and energy as a general.

The retreat of Moreau's army from Germany, left Bonaparte to contend alone with the united forces of the allies ; but if he had nothing to expect from a co-operation, he had nothing to fear from a rival. It is not to be supposed therefore, that he was displeased at a state of things, which left him at the head of all the armies of the Republic that were engaged in the tremendous struggle with its enemies. The eyes of the republic and of all Europe were fixed upon him ; his situation was one of awful responsibility, but it both flattered and stimulated his ambition. It was probably at this period, that he first "dreamt of kingdoms, crowns, and regal state."

Bonaparte did not wait to receive the enemy, but marched forth to meet him ; he attacked the Austrians who had crossed the Brenta, where after a most obstinate and bloody action, the enemy was obliged to repass the river, and leave the French in possession of the field of battle.

At the village of Lonado, Bonaparte escaped very narrowly from falling into the hands of the Austrians, and was saved only by that wonderful presence of mind of which he was master. In reconnoitering an advanced post, he found himself with only 1,200 men, surrounded by a section of the Austrian army consisting of 4,000. In this critical and eminently perilous

situation, he succeeded in impressing the Austrian commander with the belief that his whole force was at hand, which induced him to surrender himself, with his detachment.

Anxious to bring on a general engagement, Bonaparte had recourse to stratagem, and he feigned to be desirous to avoid a battle and to shun the enemy—Wurmser, the commander of the Imperial forces, imputing his conduct to a consciousness of his great numerical inferiority, exerted himself to bring on an engagement; and on the 5th of August, confident of success, and deceived by the conduct of Bonaparte, he advanced to engage the French army. The latter being formed in two divisions, one of which received the enemy in front, while the other having, by a rapid and masterly movement during the night, doubled the enemy's right wing, attacked them furiously in the rear. Finding himself by this unexpected and dextrous manœuvre surrounded and hemmed in, Wurmser made a most gallant and obstinate effort; but it was in vain; nothing could withstand the impetuosity and valour of the French. The route of the Imperialists was complete; they lost six thousand killed, twelve thousand prisoners, seventy pieces of cannon, and all the carriages belonging to their army.

This battle was followed by an engagement on the 12th of November, in which the French, consisting of the divisions of Massena and Augereau, were completely successful; but this was but a trifling affair compared with the desperate and protracted contest at the village of Arcola which followed. This place afforded a strong position, being surrounded by marshes and canals; and field marshal Alvinzi having taken up his head quarters at Coldero, dispatched several regiments to occupy this village. The column of general Augereau, having drove in the outposts of the enemy, was stopped in its advance by the Imperial troops which occupied the village of Arcola. The French made several efforts to gain possession of a small bridge

upon which the enemy kept up a terrible fire. From the importance of carrying the bridge, the troops having been several times repulsed in the attempt, several of the generals placed themselves at the head of the column, and made a desperate effort to pass it. By this rash heroism, several of the generals having been wounded and nothing effected, Augereau seizing a standard, advanced to the extremity of the bridge, where he remained several minutes without producing any effect. Bonaparte perceiving the difficulty, and that the whole operations would miscarry without the bridge was passed, hastening to the spot, asked the soldiers "if they were the conquerors of Lodi;" his presence enkindled the liveliest enthusiasm amongst the troops, which induced him to risk the passage; leaping from his horse, and seizing a standard, he rushed forward at the head of the grenadiers towards the bridge, exclaiming, "*follow your general.*" The column instantly advanced, and had reached within thirty paces of the bridge, when such was the destructive fire of the Austrians, that it recoiled at the very instant the enemy were on the point of flying. Bonaparte being thrown from his horse into the marsh, mounted again, exposed to a dreadful fire, succeeded in rallying the column. Generals Lasnes and Vignole were wounded, and Muiron, the aid of Bonaparte was killed in this daring affair. On the arrival of general Guieux, who had been dispatched by Bonaparte with a body of 2,000 men to cross the Adige, and to bear down and turn the village of Arcola, it surrendered, but was soon evacuated by the French. The next day, before light, the Austrians attacked the French in every direction. The columns of Massena and Augereau, after a sharp contest, repulsed the enemy, and the former pursued them to the gates of Coldero, taking 1,500 prisoners, six pieces of cannon, and four standards; but the latter failed of recovering the village of Arcola, although he made several desperate attempts. At night Bonaparte, at the head of a col-

umn carrying fascines, approached the canal on the side of the Adige, but such was the rapidity of the current, that he found it impracticable to pass it. He then ordered bridges to be thrown over the canal and marshes, and planned an attack for the following day. The action was renewed at an early hour, by a vigorous attack of the Austrians upon the centre of the French, which was obliged to fall back. Bonaparte, ready to take advantage even of his disasters, perceiving this, ordered general Gardanne with the 32d to form an ambush, and as the Imperialists pressed forward, driving back the centre, to sally and fall furiously upon their flank. The manœuvre succeeded to admiration. He also adopted another. The left of the Austrians being supported by the marshes, was able to keep in check the French right. Bonaparte ordered the commandant of the guides with 25 select men, to advance along the Adige, and turn all the marshes which supported the enemies left, and then at full gallop with their trumpets sounding, fall furiously upon their back. This stratagem was equally successful; the Austrian infantry gave way, and were soon completely routed. At this juncture Massena advanced to the village of Arcola, which he carried, and thence pursued the enemy a considerable distance. The results of this victory were 5,000 prisoners, 4,000 killed, and as many wounded; four stands of colours, 18 pieces of cannon, and a great number of waggons loaded, pontoons, scaling ladders, &c. The loss of the French was considerable; comprising several distinguished officers, killed and wounded; of the latter were generals Robert and Gardanne, and of the former adjutant general Vaudelin, and Elliot and Muiron, both aids of Bonaparte.

This victory was a most important one, to the French; and was not obtained without the most vigorous and persevering efforts, the most skilful and active manœuvring, and the most obstinate and desperate fighting. The Austrians, being relieved from the

war in the north, had concentrated all their disposable forces in Italy; they had received large reinforcements from the interior of the Austrian states. But the reinforcements sent from France had not joined the army of Bonaparte, which was reduced and weakened by its numerous battles and victories. Its situation was in an eminent degree critical; and nothing but the wonderful genius of its leader; the bravery and constancy of his brethren, of his companions in arms, and the ardour and courage of his soldiers, could have overcome so many obstacles and triumphed over an enemy possessing such superior advantages.

In his letter to Carnot, one of the Directors, Bonaparte says, "Never was a field of battle so valorously disputed as that of Arcola; scarcely have I any generals left; their courage and devotion to their country were without example." The general of brigade, Lasnes, appeared in the field of battle, although the wound he had received at Governolo was not yet cured; he was twice wounded on the first day of the engagement, and laid on a bed in great agony, when, hearing that Bonaparte, in person, was at the head of the column, he threw himself out of bed, mounted his horse, and hastened to find the general. As he could not walk, he was obliged to remain on horseback; but at the head of the bridge of Arcola, he received a blow that extended him senseless. "I assure you," concludes the general, "that it required every effort to vanquish: the enemy, headed by their generals, were numerous and obstinate; and several of the latter were killed."

After the action, the Austrian general Alvinzi having retreated with his army into the mountains, it was the principal object of Bonaparte to keep him in check, and to cut off all communication between him and Wurmser; who with a strong garrison still occupied Mantua.

The divisions of Massena and Vaubois came up with the enemy on the heights of Campara, and surrounding

a corps of the rear-guard took 1200 prisoners, and a body of three or four hundred were drowned in attempting to cross the Adige.

Bonaparte knew how to affect, if he did not possess, sentiments of humanity, and to appear to sympathise and condole with those who lost friends in his battles. He wrote a letter to the widow of Muiron, in which he informs her that her husband had fallen at his side on the field of Arcola. "You," he adds "have lost a spouse who was dear to you; I have lost a friend to whom I have been long attached; but our country has suffered more than us both, by losing an officer so distinguished for his talents and his dauntless courage. If I can aid you or your infant in any thing, I beseech you to reckon on my utmost exertions."

Bonaparte having set out for Mantua, to prosecute the blockade of that fortress, arrived at Verona on the morning of the 12th of January 1797, at the very moment the Austrians attacked the advanced guard of Massena's division at St. Michael. After an obstinate contest the Austrians were repulsed with the loss of 600 prisoners. At the same time they made an attack upon the head of the French line, and made themselves masters of a redoubt, which however was retaken by the French, with 300 prisoners. After various movements, the great battle at Rivoli on the 14th and 15th of January ensued. This action was contested with the greatest obstinacy, and the hostile parties displayed great skill in their manœuvring and operations. During the heat of the engagement, an Austrian column penetrating behind Rivoli, in rear of the French, succeeded in turning the French line, and cutting off all communication with Verona and Pëschiera; when confident of success they exclaimed "*we have them,*" and proceeding rapidly by the valley of the Adige advanced and attacked with great impetuosity the intrenchments of Rivoli. But their confidence and ardour did not avail them against the steady bravery of the French; they were repulsed in three successive

attacks. In the meantime Bonaparte having planted several pieces of artillery, commenced a destructive fire on the right of the Austrian line; when generals Brune and Monnier, advancing in three columns, made a vigorous attack upon the right wing of the Austrian line; which occupied an advantageous height in the rear of the French; in an instant the whole Austrian column of 4,000 men were made prisoners. This decided the action.

Bonaparte immediately hastened to St. Anthony to cut off the column of the Austrian general Provera. So prompt and judicious were his arrangements, that the Austrians finding themselves surrounded on all sides, immediately surrendered.

Six thousand infantry, 700 cavalry, an entire corps of volunteers from Vienna, with 22 pieces of cannon and all the waggons and baggage of the enemy fell into the hands of the victors.

The rapidity of the movements and victories of the French were astonishing. In the space of four days only, they had fought two pitched battles, six inferior actions, and taken nearly 25,000 prisoners, comprising one lieutenant-general, two brigadier generals, and twelve or fifteen colonels; sixty pieces of cannon, 20 standards and immense quantities of baggage. The spoils of a vanquished enemy were among the trophies of their victories. The strength of Alvinzi's army was greatly weakened; in addition to the prisoners, he sustained a loss of about 6000 killed and wounded. The prisoners were conducted to Grenoble.

In his dispatches to government, Bonaparte says; "all the troops performed wonders; the Roman legions are reported to have marched twenty-four miles a day; our brigades though fighting at intervals, marched thirty."

The standards and colours taken from the enemy, the trophies of the recent victories were sent to France, and general Bessieres charged with presenting them to the directory. The minister of war, who accompanied

Bessieres on the occasion in an address delivered to the directory, observed that the army of Italy, always victorious continues to present new monuments of its glory ; that they now behold the trophies of its recent victories.—“ At this moment,” he continued “ 30,000 of these Austrians, who had flattered themselves with compelling us to repass the Alps, climb those Alps themselves—but they climb them vanquished, disarmed and prisoners.”

Before the demonstrations of joy on this occasion had scarcely subsided, a discharge of artillery announced the arrival of general Augereau, with 60 standards taken at Mantua. He entered, preceded by sixty veteran republican soldiers, each, animated with patriotic and national pride, bearing an Austrian standard, amidst universal acclamations of *vive la Republique*. Having arrived at the Estrade the minister of war presented the general to the directory, who in his address, observed—

“ At the moment when so many kings combined against France, and when the inexperience of her troops, and the puissance of her foes, were exaggerated, it was far from being foreseen, that the genius of the republic, sweeping the imperial eagle before her, would spread her wings from Holland to the banks of the Tiber ; but it belonged to a people who had recovered their own liberty, to revive it in those places which were formerly its cradle. Our first campaigns were rendered remarkable by that sudden explosion, which, precipitating on the frontiers a million of soldiers, opposed enthusiasm and courage to experience. The present campaign exhibited a spectacle of a different aspect; the genius of a hero struggling against the knowledge of old and experienced warriors ; French valour, bounding over mountains, rivers, and every difficulty which nature and art could oppose, and in the midst of so many battles, and the intoxication of so many victories, still retaining its character of *mildness and generosity*. Our warriors, in their triumphal

march, shew themselves *the deliverers of the people*, and not the destroyers of the governments; the protectors of religion and the friends of the arts, whose native country they have conquered. "To me," concluded the minister, "it gives exquisite satisfaction to present to the directory, at the same moment, the monuments of the conquest of Italy, and the brave Augereau, who, in a moment of peril, imitating the example of Bonaparte, grasped a standard, and, darting forward in front of our battalions, decided the victory."

Bonaparte, having destroyed since the commencement of the campaign of 1796, three immense armies, and reduced the fortress of Mantua; and having driven the Imperialists out of Italy, turned his attention to the court of Rome. Whilst the *sécular* princes who had concluded treaties with the French, adhered to them in good faith, and paid the contributions stipulated, the Sovereign Pontiff was guilty of the most unwise violations of his engagements. Surrounded by priests, who were his only counsellors, the Pope had recourse to his old expedients, of artifice and *pious frauds*; and great efforts were made to inflame the minds of the people against the French, calling them republicans, jacobins, infidels, and very devils incarnate. The priests pretended, that heaven had interfered, and it was positively asserted, that various miracles had been performed in different churches, in vindication of the holy catholic faith, of papal supremacy; and shewing the displeasure of heaven at the conduct of the French. Instead of soldiers, the streets were filled with saints and images, who by their prayers and imprecations, were to arrest the progress of the French, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon their devoted heads. The warrior, who was a match for Hannibal, for the conqueror of that general, or for Cæsar, was to be combatted and overcome by friars; he who had scattered the Austrian eagles, was to yield to a Romish owl. As the object intended to

be effected by this ridiculous mummary, was generally favoured, the better informed part of the population, and even many of the literati, countenanced it; and all were denounced who did not readily believe in these preposterous impostures. Their effect was therefore wonderful: the minds of all classes were inflamed; all who doubted the pretended miracles, and the infallibility of the church, were assailed with the utmost fury by the populace, and great eagerness was almost universally manifested to make war on the French jacobins and infidels; great reliance being placed on the co-operation of heaven, and upon the prayers of the saints.

But Bonaparte, despising the power of the Pope, and not thinking a war with the holy see would open a field in which glory was to be acquired, and willing to make a display of his moderation and magnanimity, made an effort to avoid hostilities. He wrote to cardinal Mattæi, prime minister to his holiness, urging him to use his influence to induce the Pope to accede to the terms of peace proposed by the French, and avert the calamities which hostilities would bring upon him; but such was the infatuation of his holiness, and his spiritual guides and sage advisers, that this minister in his reply, said, that the conduct of France for the last seven years, wrung the heart of his holiness with grief, when he remembered that he was the *common father* of all christian nations; that the successes of the French had made their heads giddy, and led to the greatest abuses; not being satisfied with the *fleece* of the lamb, they wanted the *flesh* also: that although he was anxious for peace, he wanted it on moderate conditions, and if these were denied him, from the arrogance of the French, he should risk the consequences, relying as he did principally, on the justness of his cause, and the assistance of the Almighty—a succor, which however it may be ridiculed by infidels and pretended philosophers, he trusted would be afforded him, as he could not believe that a just and wise pro-

vidence would suffer infidels and the ungodly to prevail against the holy catholic church and the apostolic religion. His holiness made active preparations for war, and applied for assistance to the Court of Spain ; but received little consolation, being informed by the Spanish Minister, that, considering the state of the times, and that the conduct of the court of Rome respecting the French, had been temporizing and insincere, it was best he should *resign his temporal possessions and power*, and confine his attentions to the concerns of religion and the interests of the church.

Bonaparte perceiving, such was the infatuation and folly of the Court of Rome, that all his efforts for peace would be unavailing, took immediate steps, to bring his holiness to his senses. He issued a manifesto, charging him with a breach of the provisional treaty of peace, and published a proclamation, assuring the inhabitants that their religion, property, and persons, should be sacredly protected if they abstained from all acts of hostility, which would draw down upon their heads the terrible vengeance of the French arms. He ordered general Victor to invade the papal territories, who scattered the army of the Pope "like chaff before the wind," and spread a general panic through the ecclesiastical states ; persons of property escaped to Naples, and his holiness finding that St. Peter afforded him no assistance in this emergency, and having acquired sufficient *laurels* in the "field of death," dispatched plenipotentiaries to Bonaparte, to supplicate for peace. His holiness like Hudibras was soon convinced,

" That dreadful perils do environ
The man that meddles with cold iron."

Peace was obtained ; but upon conditions sufficiently humiliating : in addition to complying with the provisional treaty, previously entered into, and infracted by the Pope, he was obliged to cede a part of his territories, and pay a sum in money amounting to about

thirty millions of French livres, as an atonement for the last rupture.

Thus in one campaign the rising champion of the French Republic overcame and nearly annihilated four armies ; consisting of well disciplined and veteran troops more numerous than his own, and commanded by experienced and skilful generals ; extended the dominions of France from the gulf of Genoa to the Adriatic sea, from the Alps to the Tiber, and its influence and the terror of its arms throughout all Italy.

This was one of the most difficult and important of Bonaparte's campaigns ; and perhaps in no other did he display a more wonderful and extraordinary combination of talents, giving him an indisputable title to the character of the best soldier, the ablest commander, and the most successful conqueror of the age. It commenced with every advantage on the side of the allies, and ended with the defeat, dispersion, and almost entire destruction of four armies. It found Bonaparte in a very critical situation, being compelled, with an army reduced by the victories of the preceding campaign, to contend with the united disposable force of the allies ; but it left him master of all Italy, and without a foe that dare to meet him in the field. Considering the situation of his own army, the obstacles which surrounded him, the immense number, power, and resources of the enemy ; their bravery, discipline, and the able and experienced commanders who led them, his exertions and achievements must appear truly astonishing. If others have done as much in a single campaign, it is certain that no man ever accomplished more.

CHAPTER V.

Mission to the Republic of St. Marino—The village of Pictola—Bonaparte's family brought into notice—his plans to secure his conquests—Preparations of Austria to renew the war—Bonaparte's plan of the campaign—Action at Tarvis—Austrians defeated near Newmarck—Vienna is thrown into the greatest confusion and alarm—Bonaparte offers peace, which is accepted—A negotiation opened at Campo Formo—Disturbances at Venice—The authority of France re-established, and the authors punished—Success of the army of the Rhine.

As Bonaparte suffered nothing to escape his attention which could contribute to the power or eclat of his country, or to his own, he did not fail to notice the little republic of St. Marino. Having no pretence to quarrel with this little state, which could afford neither a field for glory or for spoil, and from its being a sister republic, although on a small scale, he availed himself of it, as presenting an opportunity of making a display of the magnanimity of the French republic, its regard, for the rights of a free people, and its fraternal feelings towards them. He dispatched citizen Monge, distinguished for his learning, as well as his respect for the rights of mankind, and attachment to republican principles, on a mission to the free and independent republic of St. Marino ; the ostensible object of which, was to remove any uneasiness that might be felt, on account of the contiguity of the French army.

The speech delivered by this distinguished messenger, contains sentiments so noble and exalted, that we cannot forbear to copy it :

“ Liberty,” he observes, “ which in the fair days of Athens, and of Thebes, transformed the Greeks into a people of heroes,—which in the time of the republic, made the Romans perform wonders,—which, during the short interval it diffused its influence over some of the cities of Italy, revived the sciences and the arts,

and gave a lustre to Florence ; liberty, while nearly banished from Europe, existed in St. Marino ; where, by the wisdom of the government, and especially by their virtues, the people have preserved this precious deposit, notwithstanding so many revolutions, and defended its asylum during so long a series of years.— After a century of knowledge, the French people, blushing at their own slavery, have made an effort, and are free. All Europe, blinded as to their proper interests, coalesced and armed against the French republic ; and, what afflicted her most, a portion of herself kindled civil war, and compelled her to have recourse to measures, of which she must feel the unfortunate consequences. Alone, in the midst of this tempest, without experience, arms, or chiefs, she hastened to the frontiers, and, making head in every direction, was soon every where triumphant. Of her numerous enemies, the wisest withdrew from the coalition ; others, yielding to her victorious arms, obtained successively the peace they implored. In fine, three only now remained, but they were impassioned, and listened to no counsel, except that of pride, jealousy, and hatred. One of the French armies, on entering Italy, had destroyed, in succession, four Austrian armies, bringing in its train liberty to these delightful countries, and, almost under the eyes of the men he addressed, covering itself with immortal glory. The French republic, *afflicted on account of the blood she sheds*, offers peace, when she might dictate laws !” Here the orator paused, as if he thought this pompous display of irresistible power, would not have sufficient weight without a pointed interrogatory. “ Would you believe it, citizens,” continued he, “ every where her propositions have been rejected with haughtiness, or eluded with cunning ! The army of Italy, thus constrained to conquer peace, is obliged, in pursuit of one of its enemies, to pass in the vicinity of your territory. I come, on the part of general Bonaparte, and in the name of the French republic, to assure the ancient

republic of St. Marino, of peace and inviolable friendship. Citizen regents ! the political constitution of the surrounding nations, may experience changes : *if any portion of your frontiers was disputed, or if any part of the neighbouring states, although not contested, be absolutely necessary to you, I am charged by the general in chief, to request you to make it known to him. The French republic is eager to give you proofs of the sincerity of her friendship, and I felicitate myself on being the organ of a mission, the object of which must be acceptable to the two republics, and which procures to me the opportunity of testifying to you the veneration you inspire in all the friends of liberty.*"

The Republic returned an answer to this glowing, eloquent, and complimentary address, equally flattering to the French republic.

They say,—"That they would insert in the number of the epochs, the most glorious in the calender of their liberty, the day of his mission to their republic. *France knew not only how to vanquish her enemies by force of arms, but also to astonish her friends by her generosity.* Happy, in being able to reckon themselves among the models, which excited the noble emulation of Frenchmen, and more happy still in being found worthy of their friendship, of which he had given them so eminent a proof, they could not view, without the most lively interest, the arms of the French republic restoring in Italy the fair days of the Greek and Roman republics. Love of their own freedom made them feel the value of the magnanimous efforts of a great nation, that wished to recover its liberty. Return, therefore to the hero who sent you : bear to him the free homage, not only of that admiration which we participate, in common with the universe, but also of our gratitude. *Tell him, that the republic of St. Marino, content with her mediocrity, is afraid to accept the generous offer he has made of aggrandizing her territory, the consequence of which might compromise her*

liberty. As to yourself, illustrious envoy ! we esteem ourselves so much the more happy at this moment in having you amongst us, as you unite the talents of the scholar with the civic virtues. The object of your mission, the manner you fulfil it, and the name of him who has sent you, will prove a lasting monument of the magnanimity of the conquerors of Italy, and ever revive in our breasts those sentiments of gratitude we at present experience."

Bonaparte, however, notwithstanding the refusal of this independent people, to accept his proffered favour of aggrandizing them, and extending their territory, and the manifold wisdom of that measure, presented them in the name of the French republic four pieces of cannon, which were entirely useless to them; and ordered a supply of corn to be given them, which they really wanted and had made application to purchase.

This little republic, from the security of its situation, being like the eagle seated among the mountain-cliffs, although comprising but about five thousand inhabitants, surrounded with civil and ecclesiastical despotism, with king-craft and priest-craft, had maintained its independance and liberty for more than thirteen hundred years; and although the feeblest, was perhaps the only state in Europe which could say it had never been conquered. Its situation not only preserved it from foreign violence, but by securing the simplicity, hardiness and poverty of its inhabitants, has protected it from those internal disorders, that degeneracy and corruption, which are the consequences of wealth, luxury, and power. What a striking example that the maintenance of the independence and freedom of a nation does not depend upon the number but the character of its inhabitants; their simplicity, industry, integrity and patriotism.

Another incident in the conduct of Bonaparte, which took place about the same time is entitled to notice as an additional evidence of his policy, and of the readiness with which he embraced every opportunity to ac-

quire eclat, exalt himself in the opinion of the learned, and acquire their esteem.

The village of Pictola, where the "Mantuan bard," the prince of Latin poets was born, had suffered as much during the siege of Mantua as in the wars of the triumvirate. Bonaparte, equally desirous of fame with Augustus, who formed the surrounding country of this spot into his liberalities, did not forget the ancient patrimony of Virgil; but as a particular honour and distinction ordered that its inhabitants should be fully indemnified for all the losses they had sustained in consequence of the war.

As might naturally be expected, the successes of Napoleon, and the eclat which his exploits had attached to the *name* of Bonaparte, had a powerful influence in bringing his brothers into public notice. Availing themselves of this influence, Lucien and Joseph, who, however, were not destitute of talents themselves, succeeded in obtaining seats in the legislative councils of the Republic; Louis, his third brother, received the appointment of lieutenant-colonel in the army of Italy; and even Jerome, a mere school-boy was presented to the public authorities, and noticed by the distinguished and influential men of the Republic.

The fortune of the successful adventurer of the family, did not tend to estrange him from the other members of it; elevated as he was, and surrounded by all the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," and whilst the mighty concerns of nations claimed his attention, he did not forget the humble mediocrity of his mother and sisters, nor withhold a portion of the immense riches he had acquired, to raise them to a station more consistent with the relation which they sustained with the hero of the Republic and the conqueror of Italy.

Bonaparte having destroyed the power of Austria in Italy, and humbled the court of Rome, turned his attention to the adoption of such civil regulations as were calculated to secure the conquests he had made,

and render them subservient to his ulterior objects, by converting those Italian States which had been the enemies, into the allies of France. Uniting the policy of the most consummate statesman, with the skill and abilities of the greatest commander, the conquests of his arm were secured by the wisdom and policy of his political measures. Under his auspices, two confederate republics were formed in Italy, on the model of the French constitution. The states on the north of the Po, formed one federative government, under the name of the Transpadane Republic, and those on the south of the Po, another, called the Cispadane Republic; both of which contained an estimated population of more than four millions. These governments were considered as possessing ample means for defending themselves against their neighbours, and the French Republic was to be their protectress against the hostile designs of Austria. This arrangement was calculated to establish the influence of France in Italy upon the surest foundation; as the safety of these new governments would depend upon their adhering faithfully to their alliance with France, the co-operation of which could alone defend them from the hostile armies of the house of Austria.

It was calculated also that in prosecuting the war with Austria, France would be able to draw supplies, and receive the active co-operation of these sister republics in Italy, established under her auspices, and dependant upon her for protection.

To give effect and permanency to this political revolution, it was necessary that a moral revolution should also be put in operation, that the minds of the people might be better fitted for these changes in their governments. It was necessary that they should be enlightened, their prejudices overcome, popular principles inculcated, and an enthusiasm excited in favour of republican institutions. The prejudices of the people against the French, were also to be removed, and their attachment conciliated. To accomplish these objects

Bonaparte makes a display of republican virtues ; cautiously avoids all ostentation, and in this respect put himself on a footing of perfect equality with persons of ordinary standing in society. This conduct, with the exertions made to inform the people, and conciliate their attachment to republican institutions, and the solicitude which Bonaparte manifested to establish and consolidate republics in Italy, contributed greatly to render him popular and extend his influence with the Italians. The politicians, and the enlightened portion of the population, by these regulations, were reminded of those free Institutions, which once dawned so auspiciously upon their country, under whose genial influence the arts and sciences revived, commerce spread its wings, and every thing was prosperous and flourishing : they had long wished for the return of these halcyon days ; and the arrangements adopted, and the animating sound of the words "equality and liberty," although there might be nothing but sound, revived their hopes, and presented to their imaginations in vivid images, the charms of those glorious epochs of freedom, which adorn the annals of their country.

Whilst Bonaparte was occupied in humbling the pope, and in establishing his civil regulations in Italy, the house of Austria, alarmed for its own security, was making great warlike preparations : but the object of the war was changed ; it was no longer a struggle for the empire of Italy, but for that of Austria itself. The latter commenced the war to chastise and humble the French republicans, and drive the leaders of the republican armies into that obscurity from which they had emerged, and to teach the nation to respect monarchy and nobility, to reverence "venerable Institutions," and to subscribe to the good old fashioned doctrine of passive obedience and the divine right of kings ; but instead of annihilating the French armies, they had rendered them invincible ; instead of driving their leaders into obscurity, they had made them conquerors and heroes ; instead of blotting out France

from the map of nations, they had produced an explosion of patriotism and national feeling, which occasioned such an expansion as threatened to swallow up all Europe. They had commenced the war to conquer a neighbouring country ; but were now obliged to continue it, to defend their own.

Taking advantage of the universal alarm which pervaded the Austrian States, and of that sentiment of patriotism, which even in despotic governments, is roused by any imminent danger that threatens national existence, their exertions were extensive, and surprisingly successful. Apprehending a formidable invasion, and considering every thing at stake, the whole resources of the empire were put in requisition. The Archduke Charles, who had succeeded in compelling the armies of the Republic to evacuate Germany, whereby he had acquired some celebrity, and every other commander having been defeated, was selected as the only man calculated to conduct the war against Bonaparte. This appointment, being generally popular, tended to stimulate the ardour of the people, and inspire confidence in the success of the approaching campaign.

The phlegm of the Germans being overcome, their fears awakened and their loyalty and patriotism aroused, they flocked from all quarters to the standard of the prince, to defend their country ; and as they were told, their *liberty*. Although the people were in a state of feudal vassalage, the most serious appeal was made to the patriotism of the nation : the people were told, that not only their independence but their *liberty* was in danger from the French republicans, who trampled upon the laws of God and man ; and this was so often repeated and so solemnly proclaimed, that the sagacious Germans began to think it was really so, and seemed to suppose, that the people had an interest in this tremendous contest between the kings, princes and nobility of Europe on the one side, and the *people* of France on the other. Whilst borne down by the

weight of feudal despotism, and the accumulated oppressions of many centuries ; whilst they could not make a movement, without hearing the clanking of their chains, they became alarmed for their *liberty*. They were told that they were free, and although bound hand and foot, they really thought that they were. Without any hand in the government, without any voice in the election of their rulers, without any rights or privileges but what their despotic governors might be disposed to allow them, nearly one half of their earnings taken by the government under the name of taxes, their persons forcibly dragged into service to fight the battles of their rulers, and often sold like cattle to neighbouring states as were the poor Hessians to Britain during the revolutionary war—all people thus oppressed and degraded were alarmed for the loss of their *liberties and their rights*. What wonderful sagacity ! But the honest Germans ought not to be a subject of ridicule ; having never breathed the air of freedom, nor tasted the sweets of liberty, they knew not what it was to be free, and were ignorant, that, politically speaking, they were *slaves*. They knew that they had a country, and although it was not the land of freedom, it was the place of their homes and of their firesides ; and it is not surprising, that they should have been anxious to defend them ; or that a spirit of loyalty and patriotism should have been excited even in a despotic state, when its very existence was at stake.

An immense army was rapidly collected, which under the command of the Archduke Charles, took the field early in the spring of 1797.

In the meantime, neither Bonaparte nor the government of the Republic, were unattentive to the approaching campaign. From the success of her armies in Italy, the government determined to invade Germany from that quarter, in preference to doing it from the Rhine ; and great exertions were made to furnish supplies and reinforcements to the armies of Italy. Bo-

naparte having completed his civil regulations, resumed the direction of military operations; his plan of the campaign was to march with his forces formed in several divisions directly to Vienna, to overwhelm the power of Austria, and dictate peace at the Capital.

The operations of the French were characterized by their usual boldness, celerity and success; the enemy were every where defeated and driven from every position and defile they attempted to defend, and compelled to retreat, from place to place, and from post to post, with the greatest rapidity. So rapid was the advance of the French that the Imperialists had no time to fortify those places which admitted of defence, or to establish themselves in any military positions.

Having gained the heights which commanded Gradisca, general Bernadotte summoned the commandant to surrender in *ten minutes*; or in case of refusal, the garrison would be put to the sword! The governour capitulated, and three thousand prisoners, ten pieces of cannon, and eight standards fell into the hands of the victors.

Soon after the commencement of operations, Bonaparte was joined by a reinforcement from the army of the Rhine, which under general Kellerman, by a hardihood and perseverance almost unequalled, surmounting all obstacles, in the rigour of the winter, had succeeded in passing the barrier of the Alps; and this march, the longest and most difficult ever performed in so rigorous a climate and season, was accomplished without experiencing any delay, and without its being known, or even suspected by the enemy. Like the Carthaginian veterans, the Republican troops encountered successfully the climate and the elements, and overcame the frozen resistance of the Alps.

After various movements and many minor engagements, in which the French in almost every instance were successful, a great and decisive action was fought at Tarvis. This action was fought on a height above the clouds, which commanded an extensive view of

Germany and Dalmatia; the snow in some places was three feet in depth, and the cavalry frequently charged on fields of ice. All the elements of nature in her most rigorous climate, and frightful region, were brought into the contest; but, frightful as they were, they interposed but a feeble barrier against the victorious career of the French. They encountered and conquered at the same time the power of Austria and the Alps.

The brilliant successes of the republican troops called forth from the government and the nation the most distinguished marks of approbation. The directory addressed letters to each of the generals, pointing out the instances in which they had personally been distinguished, and the particular services which they had rendered to their country.

After the decisive victory at Tarvis, the French armies in several divisions, under Massena, Bernadotte, and Joubert, with the principal force led on by Bonaparte himself, extending from the mountains of Tyrol, to Carniola, advanced rapidly towards the capital of Germany. Although the Austrians repeatedly renewed the contest, they were uniformly defeated, and could oppose no barrier, nor scarcely a check to the rapid progress of the French. A desperate and sanguinary contest took place near Newmark, between the flower of the Austrian army and Massena's division; and although the former had the advantage of a strong position, well supplied with cannon, they were completely routed, left the field covered with their dead, and lost many prisoners; this engagement was followed by that near Hundsmark, upon the river Mush, where the Imperialists attempted to make a stand. One hour was decisive of the contest; the Austrian rear guard, consisting of four regiments from the army of the Rhine, the bravest of their troops were routed, and the whole of the Imperialists fled with the loss of many killed and prisoners. So rapid was the advance of the French, that the following evening their

advanced guard, ate the bread and drank the brandy prepared for the Austrian army.

The Austrian army being so reduced, broken and heartless, and it being impossible to raise another, to meet the present emergency, no hope remained of saving the capital. A numerous class, it is true, were disposed to rally round the monarch, and make the last effort for the defence of their sovereign and capital ; but the experience of the past, and the sad fate of the many young and noble volunteers who had joined the standard of the Archduke, discouraged this ardour, and inclined the experienced to believe that such a struggle would be paid for at too dear a price, and afford but little prospect of success. It was the intention of the Archduke Charles, to fall back with his forces, and establish himself in the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vienna ; where, if he could not face the invader, he might retard his movements, and afford some check to his hostile designs. But there appearing no chance to save the capital, great alarm and confusion prevailed ; dreading the horrors of a siege thousands fled, and many retiring with heavy hearts, cast the last "longing, lingering look behind," expecting soon to witness their metropolis and their own dwellings in a conflagration. The conduct of the French republicans, and their heroic leader, had been represented in such an odious light that many of the honest Germans supposed them little better than cannibals ; that if they did not eat human flesh, they thirsted for human blood.

But Bonaparte, if not as generous and magnanimous, as brave, knew how to appear so ; when he had vanquished and nearly annihilated the forces of the enemy ; and when it was evident that there could be no obstacle, to taking the capital, he proposes a pacification, and upon conditions as advantageous to his opponent, as he would have had a right to expect, in case the war had been of a doubtful and indecisive character. He addressed a letter to the Archduke Charles, in

which he expresses a desire to put an end to a struggle that was ruinous to the vanquished and wasteful to the conquerors. "Brave soldiers" he observes "make war, but desire peace; the war has now lasted six years, men enough have been slaughtered, and evils enough committed against suffering humanity."

The archduke declaring himself equally desirous of peace, sent Bonaparte's letter to Vienna, and a suspension of arms soon followed.

A negotiation was opened at Campo Formo; preliminaries of peace signed in July, and a definitive treaty in October. The Emperor ceded to the French republic, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and his possessions in Lombardy, consented to their remaining in possession of certain islands in the Adriatic, and recognized the Cisalpine republic newly constituted in Italy; and the French ceded to Austria, as a compensation for her losses, Istria, Dalmatia, several Islands in the Adriatic, the City, and a portion of the dominions of the republic of Venice.

The dismemberment of the Venetian Republic which was before independent, was very reprehensible, particularly on the part of the Emperor of Austria; and little consistent with that regard for the rights of independent States, and respect for the established order of things, which he professed to feel. The rash and violent conduct of the government of Venice afforded some excuse to the French for the part they had in this business. At the time Bonaparte was in the interior of Germany, a report being spread that his army had been drawn into a defile, and was about capitulating, the Venetian government confiding in this rumour, dispatched a disorderly body of troops to attack the posts which Bonaparte had left in Italy. This proceeding originated, from the jealousy of the Venetian aristocracy, which equally with monarchy itself, was alarmed, at the democratical innovations of the French. And such were the prejudices and animosity, which they had excited against the French republicans, that

in executing this measure, all the French, who fell in to their power, were put to death.

Bonaparte, informed of these outrages ordered a body of troops, into the Venetian territories, who soon dispersed the army of that republic, entered its capital, and humbled the authors of these violent proceedings. Bonaparte put down the aristocracy which had lasted for so many centuries; established a government on the French model, and levied a contribution amounting to three millions sterling.

If not from a sense of justice and moderation, at least, from profound views of policy, Bonaparte knew how to be as generous as brave, and to assume the appearance of a magnanimous enemy. When he had repeatedly vanquished and entirely prostrated the military force of Austria, and when it was in his power to have humbled the Emperor, and compelled him to a pacification upon his own conditions, he grants him an honourable and advantageous peace. From the avowed objects of the war on the part of the allies, and the spirit they had displayed, it is easy to conceive how different would have been the terms of peace, in case the tables had been turned, and the Austrian eagles had waved in the vicinity of Paris, instead of the tri-coloured flag, in the neighbourhood of Vienna. After the lapse of years, and after Austria had been again and again, indebted to the clemency of Bonaparte for its preservation, such a case occurred, and we all know what was the result. After having repeatedly consented to *beg their crowns* of Bonaparte, having acquired the same power over him, that he had repeatedly possessed over them, they *rob him of his*, and deprive him of his liberty. Such is the difference betwixt little, and noble minds, when possessed of power. It is in vain, to attempt to weaken the force of this contrast, by considering Bonaparte as a usurper, for although, by assuming supreme power he had done great injustice to the nation, and to his fellow citizens, yet this did not concern his neighbours,

and after all, he was the most *legitimate* monarch in Europe, as he evidently had a large majority of the nation in his favour, which was a better title to sovereignty than all the legitimacy which the heraldry of Europe could furnish.

Upon the upper and the lower Rhine, the campaign was opened early in the Spring, by generals Moreau, and Hoche, with great success on the part of the French; after obtaining many advantages, fighting several battles and taking many thousand prisoners, their victorious march was arrested by the armistice concluded by Bonaparte.

CHAPTER VI.

France no enemy left but Great Britain—plan of the war against her—Bonaparte returns to Paris—receives the highest honours—is courted by all parties—Revolution in the government—Attempt at negociation with Great Britain—The army of England—Alarm in that country—Expedition to Egypt—Battle of Aboukir, and destruction of the French fleet—The French march to Cairo—Battle of the Pyramids—Dialogue between Bonaparte and the Mufti—Victory at El Irish—Capture of Jaffa—Siege of Acre—Victory near Mount Tabor—Extraordinary exertions to reduce Acre—Siege abandoned.

After the conclusion of a definite Treaty of peace with Austria, France was left with but a single enemy; but that was one of immense power and resources.—But the power of the Republic, had also become immense; Italy, Spain and Holland, were its appendages, and all Germany humbled and prostrated.

A gigantic system was adopted, for the prosecution of the war with Britain, consisting of the triple design of contending with her upon her own element, of destroying her commerce and finances, and of promoting

a revolution in her government. Availing herself of the navies of Holland and Spain, France made a great effort to establish a maritime power, superior to that of Great Britain ; but as extensive as her resources were, and as great as was her power, in this attempt she entirely failed ; the ocean was not the element of her glory. The successes of the British at sea, were as brilliant as those of France upon land ; whilst the French fleets were confined to their ports, a numerous Spanish squadron was attacked off Cape St. Vincent, by Admiral Sir John Jarvis, and although vastly superior to that of the British, it was completely defeated ; several of their largest ships taken, and the rest obliged to take shelter under the batteries of Cadiz. The Dutch fleet was not more fortunate, in an action off Camperdown, between the Dutch fleet under De Winter, and the British, commanded by Admiral Duncan, after a tremendous conflict, the latter obtained a great and decisive victory.

As to the other two objects, the exertions of the republic were not without their effect ; its immense power upon the continent, enabled it greatly to injure the commerce of Britain ; and from external and internal causes, both England and Ireland, were greatly agitated. The association of united Irishmen, from its object, extent, and the worth of many persons engaged in it, was truly formidable ; although from a variety of contingences, it entirely miscarried. In England, numerous political societies were formed, the public mind became strongly imbued with republican sentiments, and there was a numerous party, not the partisans of France as they were charged with being, but friendly to republican institutions, or a radical reform in the government.

Bonaparte, having conquered Italy, and "conquered a peace" (to use his own favourite phrase,) with Austria, and the glorious struggle being completed, no enemy remaining to meet him in the field of glorious war, returned to Paris.

On his arrival at the capital, he received every demonstration of joy, applause and respect, which the animated and grateful hearts of his countrymen could bestow, or his own great achievements inspire.

He received the flattering salutations of all without distinction of rank, age, or condition, all classes vied with each other in expressing their admiration of the young hero of the Republic, the conqueror of Italy, and the Alps, and who had carried triumphantly the tricolored flag into the heart of Germany, and conquered a peace with the most formidable and inveterate enemy of the Republic, the emperor of Austria. Poets, painters, and sculptors, of "high or low degree," learned or unlearned, exercised their ingenuity in complimenting this extraordinary hero, and in displaying some wonderful feature of his person or mind.

His manners were well calculated to preserve the popularity which he had acquired by his heroism and military achievements. Being the most distinguished and the most successful of all the generals, it is natural to suppose that he was courted by all parties; the leaders of which were extremely anxious to secure his friendship and confidence.

He observed however, a temporizing conduct, not declaring for any of the factions, but keeping himself, upon terms with all of them.

Of the homage shewn to Bonaparte, none was more grateful to his heart, and perhaps none more sincere, than that from the men of science and learning. His victories had enriched the museum of Paris with the principal curiosities of ancient and modern times, and rendered that capital the emporium of all that was rare and valuable in the world of taste and science. He was presented with a long list of the chefs d'auvres, and celebrated curiosities with which the victories of the armies of the Republic, and principally his own, had adorned the metropolis.

During the year 1797, a revolution, or a violent change took place in the government. Under a pre-

tence that there was a conspiracy afoot, to restore the monarchy, Barras, Reubel, and Lareucilere, three of the directors, concerted measures with general Augereau for the arrestation of Carnot and Barthelemi, the other two directors, and sixty of the deputies, including Pichegru and his friends, who were all charged with being concerned in the conspiracy.

Augereau executed his commission with promptitude and expedition, all the proscribed being arrested excepting Carnot, who made his escape.

This violent proceeding, was attempted to be justified by insisting upon the nature and extent of the pretended conspiracy, of which there was no proof, and that the situation of the Republic demanded it.

After this change in the government, the French invaded Switzerland, a measure long meditated by the Directory, but which the integrity of Carnot had opposed as being not only unjust in itself, but a violation of the treaty of 1792. General Brune, at the head of a strong army having entered the Swiss territory, after a resistance worthy of their ancient character, which terminated in a sanguinary conflict at Granholtz, in the neighbourhood of the city of Berne, they were compelled to succumb to a power so greatly disproportionate. The French general new modelled the government according to his own notions, and styled it "The Helvetic Republic."

An attempt was made this year at negotiation between France and Great Britain. Lord Malmesbury having been appointed Ambassador by the court of St. James, met the minister of the Republic at Lisle; and after several weeks procrastination and an exhibition of all the artifices and chicanery of diplomacy, the negotiation was abruptly broken off, and the British plenipotentiary was ordered to depart from Lisle. Among the preliminary questions the British recognized and used the style of "the French Republic," and agreed to the renunciation of the title of king of France, which the British monarchs had long retained as an

unmeaning and ridiculous appendage to their titles, equally true and important with that of "defender of the faith."

All the rest of her enemies being off her hands, France had for some time meditated, or at least talked about, the invasion of Great Britain. An immense military force was collected on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, and at Toulon, called "the army of England," and Bonaparte appointed to command it. Great preparations were made apparently for invading England; but evidently with the principal design of alarming and distracting that government, and agitating the people. The public mind was long in a high state of effervescence, but from the developement of events in Ireland, the English partizans of royalty and arbitrary measures, and all the advocates of the system of terror which was established in that country, soon discovered that these wonderful preparations of the French were designed for the invasion of Ireland. The partizans of royalty and the terrorists in England, discovered an alarming conspiracy in that kingdom as well as in Ireland; from Manchester, which was the centre or heart of the plot, its arteries and fibres extended into every "nook and corner" of the kingdom, which were copiously supplied and invigorated with the life-blood of conspiracy and treason.

The waterworks of London were to be cut off by the conspirators, the city set on fire, and the French republicans invited in, to take possession of the country. By such groundless and malicious rumours as these, the country was filled with consternation and alarm, the habeas corpus act suspended, royal associations formed, volunteers organized and disciplined, the hands of the ministers so strengthened, that the liberty of the people was entirely dependant upon their will, and every man in the kingdom was liable to be seized and imprisoned during their pleasure without a trial, and even without any charges being preferred against him. During these arbitrary proceedings many

innocent men were arrested and imprisoned, and several tried for treason and acquitted.

In Ireland, whatever may have been the actual views of the United Irishmen, a rebellion broke out, and a spirit of disaffection to British authority, extensively prevailed. A number of the leaders were surprised and arrested, which so disconcerted and deranged the plans of the Irish patriots who had attempted to rescue their country from the degradation and oppression which overwhelmed it, that the insurrection was easily suppressed.

If the project of invading England had ever been entertained, it was abandoned, in consequence of the extraordinary exertions which were made by the government and people of that nation for its defence.

An enterprise more feasible, and at the same time calculated to strike a severe blow at the power and resources of Great Britain, was resolved upon. This was, to invade and possess themselves of Egypt, the object of which was, as is generally supposed, not so much to acquire the riches of the Nile, as to extend their power to the Ganges, and open the way to the conquest of the British East India possessions. Turkey and Hindostan were to have been menaced into an alliance with the French republic, and rendered subservient to its purposes.

Toulon, was the place of rendezvous of the troops destined for this expedition, which sailed from that port in May 1798. This formidable expedition must have presented a grand and sublime spectacle, consisting of an armament of forty vessels, thirteen of which were ships of the line, and the residue frigates, and smaller vessels; and nearly two hundred transports, containing forty thousand soldiers, with a proportional number of horses, artillery, and immense quantities of provisions and military stores; besides men of science, artizans, merchants, adventurers, amounting in all, including the sailors, to nearly seventy thousand souls.

Bonaparte was too sensible of the superiority of moral, over physical, force, to neglect the former, and place his reliance wholly upon the latter. In all of his warlike operations, and conquests, he had carried with him in the prosecution of his designs, the weapons of reason and intelligence, as well as fire-arms; and an intellectual as well as a material ARTILLERY. This moral power, was both a means and an end; it was used as an instrument in effecting conquests, and establishing dominion, and for maintaining and securing them after they were acquired. The advancement of knowledge, and the dissemination of liberal and popular sentiments among the people, was a means which he knew how to use, as well as that of arms, and he rendered them almost equally subservient to his purposes.

Instead of buffoons, parasites, priests and prostitutes, the usual retinue of the French monarchs, when heading their armies, Bonaparte took with him astronomers, mathematicians, chemists, mineralogists, botanists, physicians, artists, and scientific men of every description.

This expedition stopped to pay its respects to Malta, attacked and reduced that island, and annexed it to the dominions of France; without any better right, than that by which Cæsar conquered Gaul, Great Britain seized the Danish fleet, or captured the defenceless American merchantmen—being a right founded upon the law of the strongest.

From Malta, the French fleet proceeded to Egypt, and disembarked the troops near Alexandria. In the mean time a British squadron commanded by rear admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, had traversed the Mediterranean in pursuit of the French, and at last descried them off the mouth of the Nile, lying at anchor in a line, eastward from the point of Aboukir. At this time, Bonaparte, with the army, except a garrison left at Alexandria, had proceeded towards Cairo, and was ignorant of the catastrophe which awaited his

fleet. The genius of Nelson immediately resolved upon the plan of attack. Relying upon the superior seamanship and dexterity of British mariners, he resolved to run part of his fleet between the French and the shore, and bear down upon the French line with the rest, and thus to enlodge them between two fires. Having given orders for the general plan of the action, the admiral left it to the captain of each ship to commence the attack where he pleased; which occasioned such emulation among the officers to gain an advantageous position in the action, as tended greatly to increase their ardour and inspire their courage.

Six of the British ships having turned the van of the French line, took a position upon their larboard side, while the residue took positions in front of the French line opposite to the ships on the side next to the shore, whereby nine of the British ships were so disposed as to bear their whole force upon six of the enemy,—a most tremendous conflict ensued, which having continued with unabating fury during the day, was carried on in the darkness of the night, without any other light to guide their operations, than the flashes of the cannon. The horrors of the conflict were increased by the gloom of the night; the darkness and silence, which every where else prevailed, interrupted and broken by the tremendous roar and continued flashes of the cannon, heightened the horrors of the scene; it seemed like a dreadful war of the elements, which charged with fire and wrath, portended universal destruction. "The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes, of burning cressets; and the firm foundation of the earth, shook like a coward."

The conflict continued with unabated fury until 12 o'clock, when the French ship *L'Orient*, of immense size, containing one hundred and twenty guns, was blown up with a tremendous explosion; presenting a blaze, which added to the terror and sublimity of the scene, displaying the ships of the hostile squadrons, the promontory of Aboukir, and the capacious and

magnificent bay of the Nile. The French kept up a languishing fire for some time, but finding all their endeavours unavailing, at length entirely desisted.

The victory was decisive and complete; of the French fleet two ships and two frigates only, escaped fire or destruction. The morning opened a solemn and impressive scene; the masts, spars and rigging of the fleets cut in pieces, the wrecks of the ships blown up and burned, the groans of the wounded and the adjacent shores lined with the natives who had collected from all quarters to witness a scene that filled them with astonishment; and which they could hardly persuade themselves was a reality, and not the effect of magic and enchantment. They could not conceive what had brought to their shores these heroes of the north, nor by what spirit they were led to encounter each other with such desperate and destructive fury. This action was fought on the first of August, just one month after the arrival of the French fleet.

Immediately after the disembarkation of the troops, which was not effected without difficulty, they were formed in the desert about three leagues from Alexandria, and proceeded to invest that town, which, having made all the resistance its situation admitted of, was compelled to capitulate. General Kleber was appointed commandant of Alexandria, the transport vessels conducted into the port of that city, and the horses and provisions landed. Bonaparte inspected the fortifications, ordered new works to be erected, established a divan, and took every measure as well in a civil as military point of view, to ensure the tranquility and defence of the city. In the meantime the necessary arrangements were made, and the troops prepared to march. General Desaix was ordered to proceed on a route through the desert by Damanhur to Cairo; general Dugua with Kleber's division was ordered to proceed to the mouth of the Nile to cover the entrance of the flotilla; thence to take possession of Rosetta, to establish a provisional divan and leave a garrison for

its defence ; after which he was to proceed for Cairo on the left bank of the Nile, and join the army at Rahmanieh. The flotilla, taking a supply of rice, was to proceed up the river with all possible dispatch.

The main army, under Bonaparte himself on the 6th of July, commenced its march, and arrived at Rahmanieh on the 11th, having been greatly harassed by the Arabs and Mamelukes, and much distressed for water, the wells having been all filled up by parties of Arabs. Here he made a halt to recruit his troops, which were much exhausted by a difficult march through a desert, exposed to a scorching sun, with only a little muddy and brackish water, and harassed by constant skirmishes with flying parties of Arabs ; and also to wait for the arrival of general Dugua with the troops under his command, and the flotilla, which were soon expected. General Dugua had taken Rosetta, and by forced marches arrived at Rahmanieh at the time proposed ; but the flotilla met with great difficulty in going up the river, and did not arrive until the night of the 24th. Bonaparte, uneasy at this unexpected delay, did not wait for morning, but immediately put the army in motion. On the following day a body of about 4000 Mamalukes were encountered near the village of Chebreisse. They rushed forward in masses, and made an impetuous but disorderly attack, some of the most desperate rushed sabre in hand upon the platoons. They were suffered to approach, until they got within convenient grape shot, when the artillery was opened upon them, and a charge made with the bayonet, by which they were repulsed with great slaughter ; many were killed, and those that escaped fled towards Cairo. Several gun-boats in the Nile made an attack upon the flotilla, but were repelled, some of them destroyed, and the rest fled up the Nile with all possible expedition.

The army continued its march towards Cairo, constantly harassed by the Arabs and Mamelukes, and suffering greatly from the heat, and the want of water and

provisions. Having arrived near the village of Emba-ba, they learnt that 6,000 Mamelukes and a host of Arabs and Fellahs headed by Murad Bey were entrenched at that village, waiting for their arrival. From the intenseness of the heat and difficulties of the march, the soldiers were greatly fatigued, which induced Bonaparte to halt, two miles from the village. But the Mamelukes, the moment they perceived the French, formed for action; they were drawn up on a plain in front of the French right; their cavalry covered with resplendent armour, presenting a very imposing appearance, which was heightened by the surrounding objects, all of which gave to the scene the most impressive and imposing character. Behind the right of the French army, was the Nile, celebrated in sacred and profane history, the city of Cairo, and the fields of the ancient Memphis; beyond their left, they beheld those mighty pyramids, the monuments of "olden time," whose imperishable mass has survived so many empires, and for many thousand years braved the assaults of time, and alone of all earthly things, withstood the arm of destruction.

Bonaparte having made arrangements for action, said to his troops, whilst pointing to the pyramids, "go, and think that from the height of those monuments, forty ages survey our conduct." The Mamelukes rushed with impetuosity upon the French, who reserving their fire until they advanced within half musket shot, poured a most destructive shower upon them: in vain their furious but ill directed valour, attempted to break through the French line, which was a wall of fire and a rampart of bayonets. It was rather a slaughter than a fight.

In the meantime, another division of the army attacked the entrenchments in the village. The Mamelukes unmasked and discharged forty pieces of artillery; but the French rushed forward with such rapidity, that they had not time to reload their guns, and the entrenchments were immediately carried at the point

of the bayonet. Fifteen hundred Mamaluke cavalry, and an equal number of Fellahs, their retreat being cut off, and being unwilling to surrender, made the most obstinate but unavailing defence, and all of them were either slain or drowned in the Nile. The flying Mamelukes were pursued as far as Gaza. The superiority of skill, science and discipline, over barbarian force and courage, was never more conspicuous than in this action.

The Mameluke cavalry had superb Arabian horses, richly caparisoned; their armour was magnificent, and their purses well filled with gold.

They afforded an easy victory, and rich spoils; but the provisions found in their camp, were more valuable to the victors, than the gold found in their purses; as during fifteen days they had subsisted on a few vegetables, having neither bread nor meat.

The following morning, the principal inhabitants of Cairo, with the kiaja of the pacha, who had fled himself, during the night, appeared on the banks of the Nile, and offered to deliver up the City to the French. Bonaparte engaged to protect the City, and assured them, that the manners, customs and religion of the country should be scrupulously respected. The populace taking advantage of the absence of the Mamelukes, pillaged and burned the mansion of Murad Bey, and committed other excesses; but Bonaparte having issued a proclamation and dispatched a body of troops to the City, order was restored.

On the 26th of July, Bonaparte removed his head quarters to Cairo; the divisions of Regnier and Menou, being stationed at old Cairo; those of generals Bon and Kleber at Boulac, a corps of observation was stationed on the route to Syria, and the division of Desaix occupied a position on the route to upper Egypt.

Two months only had elapsed, since the French left the shores of France; in which short period two states had been subdued, and the French army penetrated into the interior of a country, which from its climate,

deserts, sands, want of water, and the barbarous and warlike character of the inhabitants, presented a combination of obstacles, that would have appeared insurmountable to any other man but Bonaparte. Being securely established at Cairo, Bonaparte sent dispatches to the commandant at Alexandria and to Paris; he had not yet learnt of the disaster which had befallen his fleet.

On receiving information of the naval action of the Nile, the total destruction of his fleet, and the death of its commander admiral Brueys, instead of suffering himself to be depressed by such a fatal disaster, he managed with his usual adroitness to keep up the hopes of his followers, and to restore confidence.

With a view to this object, the following despatch was forwarded to the Directory:

Bonaparte, member of the National Institute, general in chief, to the executive directory.

Head Quarters, Cairo, August 19.

“CITIZEN DIRECTORS!

“On the 6th of July I wrote to the admiral, to enter the port of Alexandria in twenty-four hours; and, if that was not practicable, to land immediately all the artillery and stores belonging to the army, and return to Corfu. I then left Alexandria, in the full assurance that in three days one of these measures would have been adopted. From that time, to the 24th of July, I received no intelligence whatever, either from Rosetta or Alexandria: a multitude of Arabs, collecting from all parts of the desert, kept constantly within 500 toises of the camp.

“On the 27th, at length, the report of our victories, and different positions, opened our communications. I received several letters from the admiral, when I learned, with astonishment that he remained at Aboukir. I then wrote to him again, that he must not lose an hour, but either enter the port of Alexandria, or return to Corfu. The admiral had written to me on the 20th of July, that several English frigates had come

to reconnoitre, and that he was fortifying himself in expectation of the enemy at Aboukir. This strange resolution filled me with the most lively alarms, but the time was lost ; for the letter of the 20th did not reach me until the 30th of the same month. I dispatched citizen Julien, my aid-de-camp, with orders not to leave Aboukir until he had seen the squadron under sail. On the 26th, the admiral wrote to me that the squadron had retired, which measure he attributed to want of provisions. I received this letter on the 30th, by the same courier ; the 29th he wrote to me that he had, at length, heard of the victory of the pyramids, and the taking of Cairo, and found a passage for entering the port of Alexandria ; that letter I received the 1st of August. On the night of the first of August the English attacked him : on the moment he perceived the English squadron, he dispatched an officer to apprise me of his dispositions and plans ; this officer perished on the road. It seemed to me, that admiral Brueys was unwilling to return to Corfu before he had ascertained the practicability of entering the port of Alexandria, and that the army, of which he had received no intelligence for a long time, was in a position, in which it would not be obliged to retreat ; if, in this calamitous event, he was to blame, he has expiated his faults by a glorious death.

“ The destinies have been desirous to prove, on this occasion, as on so many others, that if they grant us a great preponderance on the continent, they have given the empire of the seas to our rivals ; but however great this reverse, it is not to be attributed to the fickleness of fortune. She has not abandoned us : far from it, she has favoured us in the whole expedition, in a degree surpassing all her former efforts. When I arrived before Alexandria, and learned that the English had been there before, notwithstanding the tempestuousness of the weather, I threw myself on the shore at the risk of being wrecked. I remember at the moment when preparations were making for landing, there was

a signal in the offing of an enemy's sail. (It was the Justice coming from Malta.) I exclaimed, "Fortune would you abandon me? Only five days!" I marched all night: At break of day I attacked Alexandria with 3,000 harassed men, without cannon, and nearly without cartridges; and, in five days, I became master of Rosetta, of Demenhur; that is to say, I was already established in Egypt.

"For these five days was the squadron sheltered from the enemy, however great might be their number? Far from it; it remained exposed during the remainder of the month of July: it received from Rosetta about the 20th of that month, a supply of rice for two months. The English were for ten days in these parts. On the 29th of July it received intelligence of our entire possession of Egypt, and our entry into Cairo; and it was only after fortune saw that all her favours were become of no further use that she abandoned our fleet to its destiny. I salute you.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE."

This statement, which throws the blame of the fleet's remaining so long at Aboukir, upon the gallant but unfortunate Brueys, little accorded with the suggestion of the admiral, that "the fleet was detained to gratify the wishes of the commander in chief." Even if it was true it was extremely ungenerous, to attack the gallant admiral after his death; but perhaps the critical situation of the army and the necessity of restoring the hopes and confidence of his followers, may afford some extenuation of this conduct of Bonaparte.

It may also be noticed that he addressed a letter of condolence to the widow of the admiral, in which, he requests her to "endeavour to set some value, upon the lively interest which he shall never fail to take in all that concerns the widow of his friend."

A very curious dialogue is represented to have taken place between Bonaparte and three of the principal Muftis, in the pyramid called "Cheops," from the supposed name of the monarch by whom it was erect-

ed. Having entered this, after examining the five inferior ones, Bonaparte with his attendants, consisting of his staff and the members of the National Institute, seated himself on a chest of marble, and invited the muftis and imans who had accompanied him, to be seated likewise. He then began a conversation with Suluman, Ibrahim, and Muhamed, the chief of the Muftis.

Bonaparte. God is great, and his works are marvellous; but we have here a grand production of the hand of man. What was the object of the individual who caused this pyramid to be constructed?

Suluman. He was a powerful king of Egypt, whose name, it is said, was Cheops; he wished to prevent the sacrilegious from troubling the repose of his ashes.

Bonaparte. The great Cyrus commanded, that, when dead, his body should be left in the open air, that it might return to the elements. Dost thou not think that he did better? Tell me, my friend, what is your opinion?

Suluman, (inclining himself.) Glory to God! to whom all glory is due.

Bonaparte. Honor to Allah! Who was the calif who caused this pyramid to be opened, and troubled the ashes of the dead?

Muhamed. It is believed by some that it was Mahmoed, the commander of the faithful, who reigned several centuries at Bagdad; others say, it was the renowned Aaron Raschid, (peace to his manes!) who expected to find treasures there; but when, by his command, entrance was made into this apartment, tradition says, that he found mummies only, and this inscription written on the wall:—*The impious shall commit iniquity without recompense, but not without remorse.*

Bonaparte. The bread stolen by the wicked fills his mouth with sand.

Muhamed, (inclining himself.) These are the words of wisdom.

Bonaparte. Glory to Allah ! there is no other God but God, Mahomet is his prophet, and I am his friend.

Suluman. The salutation of peace to the envoy of God ! Salutation to thee also, invincible warrior, favourite of Mahomet !

Bonaparte. Mufti, I thank thee : the divine Koran is the delight of my soul, and the object of my contemplation. I love the prophet, and I hope ere long to see and honour his tomb in the holy city ; but my mission is first to exterminate the Mamelukes.

Ibrahim. May the angels of victory sweep the dust from thy path, and cover thee with their wings ! the Mameluke has merited death.

Bonaparte. He has been smote and delivered over to the black angels, Monkir and Quakir. God, on whom all things depend, has ordained that his dominions shall be destroyed.

Suluman. He has extended the hand of rapine over the land, the harvests, and the horses, of Egypt.

Bonaparte. And over the most beautiful slaves, thrice holy mufti ! Allah has withered his hand : if Egypt is his portion, let him shew the lease which God has given him of it ; but God is just and merciful to his people.

Ibrahim. O most valiant among the children of Issa ! (Jesus Christ) Allah has caused thee to follow the exterminating angel to deliver his land of Egypt.

Bonaparte. This land was a prey to twenty-four oppressors, (rebels against the grand sultan, our ally, whom God turn to his glory,) and to ten thousand slaves from Candia and Georgia. Ariel, the angel of death has breathed upon them ; we are come, and they have disappeared !

Muhamed. Noble successor of Isander ! (Alexander) honour to thy invincible arms, and to the unexpected thunder which springs from thy warriors on horse.

Bonaparte. Dost thou believe thunder to be the work of the children of men ? Dost thou believe so ? Allah has placed it in my hands, by his messenger, the genius of war.

Ibrahim. We perceive in thy works the great Allah, who has sent thee; couldst thou have conquered, if Allah had not permitted? The Delta, and all the neighbouring countries, resound with thy miracles.

Bonaparte. A celestial car will ascend, by my command, to the abode of the clouds, and the lightning will descend to the earth along a metallic wire,* the moment I shall bid it.

Suluman. And the great serpent, which sprang from the base of the pillar of Pompey, on the day of thy triumphant entry in Scanderish, and which remained withered at the socket of the pillar, was not that also a prodigy effected by thy hand.

Bonaparte. Lights of the age! you are destined to see yet greater wonders than these; for the days of regeneration are come.

Ibrahim. May the divine unity regard thee with an eye of predilection, adorer of Issa! and render thee the support of the children of the Prophet.

Bonaparte. Has not Mahomet said that every man who adores God, and performs good works, whatever may be his religion, shall be saved?

Suluman, Muhamed, Ibrahim, (inclining themselves.) He has said so.

Bonaparte. And if, by an order from on high, I have moderated the pride of the vicar of Issa (the pope) by diminishing his terrestrial possessions, in order to amass for him celestial treasures, was it rendering glory to God, whose mercy is infinite?

Muhamed. (with an air of hesitation.) The musti of Rome was rich and powerful, we are poor mustis.

Bonaparte. I know that you are poor; be without apprehension, for you have been weighed in the balance of Balthazar, and you have been found light. Does this pyramid, then, really contain no treasure that you know of?

* This sublime quackery means nothing more, in intelligent language, than an air balloon, and an electric conductor.

Suluman, (his hands on his breast.) None, my lord ! we swear by the holy city of Mecca.

Bonaparte. Unhappy, thrice unhappy ! those who seek for perishable riches, and covet gold and silver, which are like unto dust !

Suluman. Thou hast spared the vicar of Issa, and hast treated him with clemency and goodness.

Bonaparte. He is an old man whom I honour. May God accomplish, when they shall be regulated by reason and truth : but he is to blame in condemning to eternal fire all the Mussuhmen. Allah defend us from intolerance !

Ibrahim. Glory to Allah, and to his prophet ! who has sent thee into the midst of us to rekindle the faith of the weak, and to open to the faithful the gates of the seventh heaven.

Bonaparte. You have spoken my wishes, most zealous muftis ! be faithful to Allah, the sovereign ruler of the seven marvellous heavens, and to Mahomet, his vizir, who traversed all the celestial mansions in a single night. Be the friends of the Franks, and Allah, Mahomet, and the Franks, will recompense you.

Ibrahim. May the prophet himself cause thee to sit at his left hand, on the day of the resurrection, after the third sound of the trumpet.

Bonaparte. "He that hath ears to hear let him hear !" The hour of political resurrection has arrived for all who groan under oppression. Muftis, imans, mullahs, dervises, and kalenders ! instruct the people of Egypt, encourage them to join in our labours, to complete the destruction of the beys and the Mamelukes : favour the commerce of the Franks in your country, and their endeavours to arrive at the ancient land of Brama. Let them have storehouses in your ports, and drive far from you the islanders of Albion, accursed among the children of Issa ! such is the will of Mahomet. The treasures, industry and friendship of the Franks shall be your lot, till you ascend to the seventh heaven, and are seated by the side of the

black-eyed houris, who are endowed with perpetual youth and virginity. Repose under the shade of Laba, whose branches present of themselves to true Musulmen whatever their hearts may desire.

Suluman, (inclining himself.) Thou hast spoken like the most learned of the mullahs. We place faith in thy words: we will serve thy cause, and God *hears us*.

Bonaparte. God is great, and his works are marvellous: the salutation of peace be upon you, THrice HOLY MUFTIS!

In this sublime bombast, Bonaparte probably failed in his object, for in cunning and hypocrisy, and the artful use of big-sounding, but unmeaning words, as great a master as he was, he was not an over-match for the wily priests.

After the battle of the pyramids, Murad Bey fled to upper Egypt, and on the 25th of August general Desaix marched from Cairo in pursuit of him and to complete the conquest of that part of the country.

General Regnier with a division of the army was dispatched for the reduction of the village El Arish, which, although obstinately defended, was speedily carried by the bayonet. The Mamelukes having collected in large numbers, at El-Arish, pitched their tents upon a neighbouring plain covered by a deep ravine, which, they supposed, rendered them secure from attack; but a party of French troops succeeded in turning the ravine which covered their encampment, rushed into it, routed the astonished Mamelukes, killed and made prisoners of a considerable number, besides taking large quantities of camels, horses, provisions and warlike stores.

The fort at El-Arish, being cannonaded from a position on the sand hills near the village, the garrison, consisting of barbarians entirely ignorant of the art of war, after a fierce, but disorderly resistance, surrendered the fort and themselves, on their being permitted to retire to Bagdad across the desert. The headquarters of the army were then removed to the village

of El Arish, and the fort, which is the key of Egypt on the side of Syria put in a defensible condition.

General Regnier's division being left with orders to follow at the end of two days to form the rear guard, the army marched towards Gaza, and having dispersed near this place a body of Mameluke cavalry, proceeded to Jaffa. This place being surrounded with a wall mounted with cannon, and possessing considerable strength, was regularly invested : several batteries having been erected, a breach was soon made, which was followed by an assault. The garrison, consisting of 12,000 Turkish gunners, and about 2,500 Maugrabins and Arnauts, defended themselves, with great courage and fury, and refusing to surrender or to lay down their arms, were nearly all put to the sword. The town, forts, a field train consisting of forty pieces of artillery, sent to the pacha by the Grand Seignior, and several vessels in the harbour were taken possession of by the French. General Robin was left in command of the place, who established a divan ; this port was intended as a depot of all articles which should be received from Alexandria.

General Kleber having taken possession of Caiffa which was abandoned by the enemy on his approach, and left a garrison in the castle, proceeded towards St. John d' Acre. A bridge having been thrown during the night, across the river Acre, about fifteen hundred toises from the town, the army passed at day break, and took a position which commanded St. John d' Acre, about one thousand toises from it.

The pacha of Acre was assisted by the co-operation of sir W. Sydney Smith, the English minister to the porte, who with some British forces had reached that place in season to direct its defence.

The French, having reconnoitered the fortress, and determined to attack the front of the salient angle to the eastward, laboured incessantly at erecting batteries ; but they were disappointed in receiving their battering cannon which they expected from Alexan-

dria. The batteries in breach, and cross batteries, being completed, the siege was commenced on the 26th of March. Although they had only field pieces for battering cannon, on the evening of the 28th, a breach was made in the wall, and an assault attempted; but the assailants had not proceeded far before their course was arrested by a fosse fifteen feet deep, connected with a good counterscarp, which the grenadiers in vain attempted to mount; and in the meantime the pacha having rallied his forces, and ascended the parapet of the tower, poured upon the assailants a shower of stones, grenades, and combustible materials of every description.

The pacha, having despatched emissaries to Sicron, Damascus, and Aleppo, to stimulate all true Mussulmen to rise en mass, to combat the infidels, a considerable body of troops assembled at Damascus, to reinforce the garrison at Acre.

Bonaparte perceiving that the place could not be taken by a *coup de main*, endeavoured to cut off these reinforcements. General Junot having been detached to watch the movements of the Mahomedans, having turned a mountain, found himself surrounded on a plain by a body of 3000 cavalry. His small party consisting of but 500 men, following the example of their intrepid leader, defended themselves in the most heroic manner, against such a superior force; succeeded in gaining the heights of Nazareth, and fought his way for two leagues. In this affair they lost sixty men, and the Turks six hundred.

General Kleber having with the advanced guard been despatched to join Junot at Nazareth, marched to attack a large body of the enemy upon a position near Loubi; but the Turks, consisting of 4,000 cavalry and 600 foot, descending from their height, surrounded and prepared to charge his troops; but anticipating the enemy, and charging their cavalry with part of his force, and their camp with the residue at the same time, they were routed, and fled in great dis-

order towards the Jordan. The entire force of the Mussulmen was estimated by the French general at between fifteen and sixteen thousand, but they were represented by the inhabitants of the country to be forty or fifty thousand.

Bonaparte, learning that the natives were rising in all directions, determined to strike a blow which would awe them into submission. Leaving the direction of the siege of Acre to generals Regnier and Lasne, he marched to reinforce general Kleber. Having reached a height affording a view of Mount Tabor, he perceived at a distance of about three leagues, that Kleber, whose force did not exceed 2,000, was surrounded with about 25,000 of the enemy's cavalry. Having taken steps to cut off their retreat, Bonaparte attacked them on the flank, in the rear, and stormed their camp at the same time; Kleber, perceiving the timely arrival of this reinforcement, no longer acted on the defensive, attacked and carried the village of Fouli by the bayonet, and then charged the enemy's cavalry, who fell like grass before the scythé; perceiving that they were surrounded on all sides, and destruction staring them in the face, the utmost confusion and disorder prevailed; what escaped, took refuge in the rear of Mount Tabor, and during the night fled across the Jordan.

In this action 4,000 French troops defeated 25,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, killed more than 5,000 of their number, compelled the remainder to fly to Damascus, and captured all their magazines in these parts. In the meantime general Murat drove the Turks from their position at the bridge of Jacob, surprised the son of the pacha of Damascus, carried their camp, killed a great number, and pursued the fugitives several leagues on the route to Damascus.

Bonaparte having returned to Acre, renewed his exertions in prosecuting the siege of that place. On the 25th of April a mine was sprung, intended to blow up the tower near the breach which had previously

been made ; but the object being but partially effected, the breach continued of difficult access ; and on the same evening an attempt being made to effect a lodgement in the first story of the tower, the Turks allowed the French to approach the breach, when they poured down such a shower of combustible materials as compelled them to retreat with precipitation.

Having received a number of twenty-four and eighteen pounders, several of these were directed against the tower to widen the breach ; and in the evening another attempt was made to effect a lodgement, which partially succeeded ; but the grenadiers being exposed to a cross fire from the British mariners in the fosse, were obliged to retire. An attempt was made to form a mine and effect a breach in the curtain of the fortification to the eastward ; but perceiving this, the besieged laboured incessantly, and carried on their sapping with great activity to counter-work the mine, in which they finally succeeded.

On the 7th of May, Bonaparte having discovered a Turkish fleet approaching Acre, to reinforce the besieged, determined to make a vigorous and decisive effort before the succors should arrive. Accordingly, at 10 o'clock at night, a most spirited attack was made ; the fire of the besiegers was increased tenfold ; the ravelins, the works upon the glacis, and the tower upon the breach, were all carried, a lodgement made in the tower, the newly constructed works of the besieged filled up, and a number of their cannon spiked. The determined resistance of the Turks and the Anglo Turks, and a tremendous fire from the batteries and the shipping in the harbour, could not check their operations, or retard their progress.

Daylight discovered the French standard on the outer angle of the tower ; the fire of the besieged was much slackened, and 200 of the French had made a lodgement in the second story of the northeast tower. In the mean time the reinforcements had arrived and were in boats, but had not reached the shore ; this was

a crisis in the contest, and the utmost exertions on the part of the English and Turks were necessary to preserve the place until the boats could land. Sir Sidney Smith, having landed his boats at the mole, conducted the troops armed with pikes, immediately to the breach; the appearance of a large reinforcement animated the garrison, who redoubled their exertions. The French who had made a lodgment in the tower were either all killed or dispersed.

The besiegers attempted to make a new breach, south of the lodgment, and were more successful, every fire knocking down whole sheets of a wall much less solid than that of the tower; and a breach of considerable extent was opened. Just before sunset a column approached and mounted the breach, unmolested, and descended into the pacha's garden, he having suffered them to advance with the view of closing with them and cutting them off. Suddenly they were furiously assailed by a large body of Turks, with a sabre in one hand, and a dagger in the other; the foremost of them were killed, and the rest precipitately retreated.—General Lasne, who was seen bravely encouraging his men to mount the breach, was wounded by a musket shot, and carried off.

The breach being practicable for fifty men abreast, the French renewed the attack with increased ardour and intrepidity; nothing but the most determined courage could resist their impetuosity; a close and sanguinary conflict ensued; they fought man to man, for a considerable time with the greatest fury; but Bonaparte perceiving that success in this contest would be purchased at too dear a price, ordered his men to retreat.

Another assault was made on the 9th, attended, like those which had preceded it, with partial success, but ultimate failure.

In these various attacks of the French, no men ever displayed more ardour and intrepidity, or persevered in their object, with more determined resolution.—

But such daring bravery and perseverance, was attended with a serious loss ; the three last assaults cost the French two hundred killed and five hundred wounded, and among the latter, were general Bon, adjutants general Foulcr, Pirault, Gabault, Venoux, chief of the twenty fifth, citizen Crazies aid-de-camp to Bonaparte, who all died of their wounds.

Bonaparte, having learned from the two Turkish vessels captured by the French admiral Perree, that a large Turkish expedition originally destined against Alexandria, on intelligence being received of the attack upon St. Jean de Acre, was ordered to that place, and from the menacing movements of the enemy in various directions requiring his attention, abandoned his operations against this town.

CHAPTER VII.

Great victory near Aboukir—Considerations which induced Bonaparte to return to France—He arrives safe—remarks on the expedition—Charges against Bonaparte—Conquest of Egypt by the French compared to that of Hindostan by Great Britain.

BONAPARTE proceeded to Cairo, and from thence to the pyramids of Giza, where he had ordered general Murat to join him. Bonaparte had designed to halt several days at this place, but receiving intelligence from Alexandria that a Turkish fleet of 100 sail, had anchored off Aboukir, and manifested hostile designs against Alexandria, he instantly made his dispositions to meet such an unexpected contingency. Murat with his cavalry and grenadiers, was ordered to Rahmanieh ; the divisions of general Lasne and Rampon were directed to cross the Nile, and proceed to the same place, and during the night orders were forwarded to the different provinces in the utmost haste. Bonaparte wrote to Desaix, directing him to send

him a part of his force, to keep a flying column in pursuit of Murad Bey, and to defend Cairo ; general Kleber was directed to march toward Rosetta, leaving sufficient troops for the defence of Damietta, and the province ; and general Menou, who had gone to the lakes of Natron, was ordered, after providing several garrisons, to join the army at Rahmanieh. On his arrival at Rahmanieh he received intelligence from general Marmont, commandant of Alexandria, that the Turks had landed and taken Aboukir, having a force of about 15,000 men, and that he expected they would immediately besiege Alexandria. Having dispatched Menou to Rosetta, to watch the motions of the enemy, Bonaparte determined to take a position with the main force at the village of Birkit, from whence he could march with equal facility to Rosetta, Aboukir, or Alexandria.

The Turkish forces were commanded by Mustapha Pacha, who drew up his first line, in front of the fort of Aboukir ; his troops occupied several intrenched sand hills ; he had about 1200 men in the village, and nearly 7,000 occupied a frontier in the rear of the village of Aboukir. The suite of the pacha consisted of eighty horsemen richly caparisoned, and his squadron lay at anchor in the road, at the distance of half a league.

The French having advanced within sight of the enemy, Bonaparte ordered them to halt, and made his dispositions for the action.

“The division of General Lasne was to advance against the detached sand-hill, on the left of the enemy's line, where 2000 men and six pieces of cannon were stationed ; two squadrons of horse were dispatched to observe the motions of this corps, and to endeavour to cut off its retreat. The rest of the cavalry were to advance against the centre, and the division of general Lannusse was to remain in the second line.

General Destaing with the force under his orders,

charged the enemy with the bayonet; they abandoned their intrenchments, and retreated towards the village; but the greater part of the fugitives were cut down by the cavalry. The corps against which the division of general Lasne advanced, seeing that, stationed on the right give way, and that the cavalry was about to turn its position, attempted to retire, after discharging a few cannon shot; but the two squadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides cut off its retreat, and either killed or precipitated the whole corps into the sea. General Destaing's force then marched against the village, which was nearly in front of the centre of the pacha's second line: this post he turned while the thirty-second demi-brigade attacked it in front. The Turks here made a spirited resistance; a considerable number of men were detached from the left of the second line to the relief of the village; but the reinforcement was charged by the cavalry, who drove the greater part of the fugitives into the sea. The village was then speedily carried, and its defenders pursued as far as the redoubt, which was the centre of the second position. This post was a very strong one; the redoubt was flanked by a work which covered the peninsula on the right as far as the sea; another work of similar construction, extended to the left, but to a small distance from the redoubt; the rest of the space was occupied by Mustapha's troops, who were posted on the sand-hills, and among the groves of palm-trees.

While the troops took breath, Bonaparte ordered several pieces of artillery to be planted at the village and along the shore, and a fire was opened on the enemy's right and on the redoubt; general Destaing's battalions, drawn up near the village they had carried, formed the centre of the line of attack, and fronted the redoubt: they were ordered to advance. General Fugiers received orders to march along the shore, in order to force, by the bayonet, the right wing of the Turks. The thirty-second, which occupied the left of the village, had orders to hold them in check, and

to support the eighteenth. The cavalry, which was placed on the right of the army, attacked the enemy's left, charging it several times with great impetuosity : it cut down, or drove into the sea, all before it ; but they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being placed between its fire and that of the gun-boats ; from this terrible situation they were obliged to fall back, while the thinned ranks of the Turks were supplied by fresh troops.

The Turks, deficient in discipline, but not in ardour, stood the shock of the French artillery with the greatest courage, but, their resistance only stimulated the courage of the French cavalry to new attacks ; at each charge they rushed forward to the very fosse of the redoubt ; and, as though every soldier considered himself as sent upon the forlorn hope, they all seemed actuated by the infernal determination to do as much mischief as possible before they died. The adjutant-general Roze, Bessiers, chief of brigade of the cavalry guides, and adjutant Le Turq, were at the head of the charges ; the chief of brigade Daviver, was killed.—The horse artillery, and that of the guides, took a position in face of the enemy's musketry, whence, by a brisk discharge of grape shot, they powerfully contributed to the success of the battle. The adjutant-general Le Turq judged that a reinforcement of infantry was necessary ; he represented this to Bonaparte, who sent him with a battalion of the seventy-fifth ; he rejoined the cavalry, but his horse being soon killed, he put himself at the head of the infantry ; with this he flew to the centre of the left, to join the eighteenth demi-brigade, which he saw advancing to attack the intrenchments of the enemy's right. The eighteenth continued to advance ; the enemy, at the same time made a sortie from the position on the right, and engaged the fronts of the columns, man to man ; the Turks endeavoured to wrest the bayonets from the French ; in despair they slung their own muskets behind them, and fought with the sabre and pistol. At

length the eighteenth reached the intrenchments, but the fire of the redoubt, which every where flanked the trenches, behind which the enemy had again rallied, stopped the column. General Fugiers, and the adjutant-general, Le Turq, displayed prodigies of valour; the former received a wound in the head; he continued, nevertheless, to fight; soon after, a ball carried away his left arm, and he was constrained to follow the movements of the eighteenth, which, in the greatest order, and maintaining a brisk fire, retreated to the village. The adjutant-general Le Turq, having vainly exerted himself to determine the column to throw itself into the enemy's entrenchments, leaped into them himself—but he was cut down by a sabre, and mixed among the dead; the chief of brigade, Morangei, was previously wounded, and twenty of the eighteenth were killed upon the spot. The Turks, in the face of the heavy fire from the village, darted from their entrenchments, in order to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might obtain the silver aigrette, which their government bestows on every soldier who brings the head of an enemy.

The general in chief had ordered a battalion of the twenty-second light infantry, and another of the sixty-ninth, to advance upon the left of the enemy; general Lasne, who was at their head, seized the moment in which the Turks had imprudently quitted their intrenchments, to storm the redoubt; he attacked it with the greatest vigour on the left flank and on its gorge; the 22d, the 69th and a battalion of the 75th, leaped into the ditch, were soon upon the parapet and within the redoubt; at the same time the 18th charged the right of the enemy with the bayonet. General Murat, who then commanded the advanced guard, took advantage of the moment in which general Lasne stormed the redoubt, to order the cavalry to charge, and to break through all the positions of the enemy, to the very ditches of the fort: this order was executed with such vigour and effect, that at the moment

the redoubt was forced, the cavalry were on the spot to cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort. The rout of the Turks was complete, and they beheld death on every side ; the infantry charged them with the bayonet ; the cavalry cut them down with the sabre. No alternative but the sea remained ; to this sad resource they fled, as a last refuge. Several thousands committed themselves to the waves ; showers of musketry and grape-shot followed them ; never did so terrible a sight present itself : few of them survived ! as the ships were too far distant for the greater part to reach them. Mustapha Pacha, the commander in chief of the Turkish army, and 200 men were made prisoners ; about 2,000 men were killed ; all the tents and baggage, and twenty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French. The fort of Aboukir did not fire a shot ; all within were panic struck. A flag of truce was sent out, by which it appeared that the fort was defended by 1,200 men ; it was proposed to them to surrender ; some were inclined to agree, while others refused ; the day was spent in parleying ; at length a position was taken, and the wounded were removed. Many of the French officers died of their wounds. In the night the Turkish squadron communicated with the shore ; the garrison was re-organised and defended the fort : and batteries of cannon and mortars were erected by the French for its reduction.

On the 26th of July the fort was summoned to surrender. The son of the pacha, his kiaya, and the officers were willing to capitulate, but the soldiers refused. On the 27th the bombardment was continued ; on the 28th several batteries were erected on the right and left of the isthmus, some gun-boats were sunk ; and a frigate was dismasted and forced to put to sea. The same day the besieged, who began to want provisions, got into some houses of the village which joined the works ; general Lasne approached to attack them, but was severely wounded in the leg ; general Menou succeeded him in the command of the

siege. On the 30th general Davoust forced the trenches, and those houses wherein the Turks were lodged, and, after some slaughter, drove them into the fort.

On the 2d. of August general Robin made himself master of the trenches ; batteries were raised on the counter-scarp, and the mortars played with vigour ; the fort was little more than a heap of stones. The besieged had now no communication with the squadron, and were in extreme want of provisions, yet they did not capitulate, but threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. The son of the pacha, the kiaya, and the governor, were made prisoners ; thus, a combination of talents and skill had subdued the energies of physical power."

This victory, characterised by such a wonderful combination of talents, the plan of the attack so judicious, and its execution displaying a degree of ardour, heroism and perseverance, almost more than human ; and from the tremendous destruction which it brought upon the enemy, was calculated to overwhelm the Turks with consternation, and to favour the establishment of the dominion of France in Egypt, by shewing the dreadful consequences of oppressing them. But there were many insuperable obstacles to the accomplishment of this object. To maintain the possession of this country under the authority of France, against the hostile operations of the natives, and the power of the Porte, required a large body of troops, as many towns must be garrisoned, and troops stationed in different places to overawe the inhabitants. But the French army, from their numerous battles, fatiguing marches, and their severe sufferings from the climate, the want of water and provisions, was very much reduced. Yet the most serious obstacle to the establishment of the dominion of France in Egypt arose from the British possessing the command of the Mediterranean. This cut off all chance of obtaining reinforcements, exposed the sea coast, and effectually

interrupted all communication with France. So entirely did the British cruisers interrupt all communication between the French in Egypt and the mother country, as to keep each wholly ignorant of the situation of the other. Bonaparte was in a great measure ignorant of the events which had transpired on the continent, and of the alternate fortune of the war in Germany ; and the government was so destitute of information as to the situation of the army in Egypt, and the conquests made there, that they looked to that quarter to console themselves for the reverse of fortune which they had experienced upon the continent ; whilst the army there, and even Bonaparte himself were fixing their hopes upon France.

In addition to the difficulties of making permanent conquests in Egypt, Bonaparte obtained information from the Turks captured at Aboukir, which rendered the occupation of the country of little consequence, as respected the principal object of the expedition. The English government, discovering that the principal object of this expedition to Egypt, was, to open a channel and prepare the way for a co-operation with Tippoo, had made great efforts in prosecuting the war with that monarch, and had defeated him, and seized upon his possessions, with the same right and upon the same principle that the French took possession of Egypt. The overthrow of Tippoo destroyed the influence of France in the East Indies, and took away the principal part of the value of the expedition to Egypt, if it should be successful, and the dominion of France permanently established in that country.

From these considerations, Bonaparte became thoughtful and depressed ; he perceived that after so much hard fighting, and the loss of so many valuable lives, little had been effected, and that Egypt was not a field in which advantage or glory were to be acquired either for himself or his country. He felt that he had got into a scrape, and was perplexed to know how to get out of it. Although in a great measure

ignorant of the state of affairs on the continent, and at Paris, yet, what information he had, increased his anxiety to return, and his friends at the capital were equally desirous that he should, believing that he alone was capable of successfully conducting the war against the armies of the new coalition which had been formed against France, and of retrieving the glory of the republic.

The knowledge which he obtained of the state of affairs on the continent, and of the feelings and wishes of his friends at Paris, brought him to the conclusion to hazard a return ; although it was known that the Mediterranean swarmed with British cruisers.

This conduct of Bonaparte,—his leaving the army and returning to France, has been a subject of very severe censure ; but the justness of this depends principally upon the consideration whether he was the author or promoter of the expedition. If it was a plan of his own, it was a very base thing to abandon his followers ; but if it was a plan of the Directory, and perhaps for the very purpose of putting out of the way, a man that they considered dangerous to themselves, Bonaparte, having done all that he could to accomplish the object of the expedition, perceiving that from difficulties which it was not in his power to overcome, it must come to a disastrous result, may have considered that he was under no obligation to sacrifice himself with the army, when it was apparent that his exertions would not be able to save it. In the opinion of his friends, too, the internal and external state of France required his presence. But it is not to be supposed that he was very scrupulous about the right or justice of the measure ; he looked only to the expediency of it. He resolved to return, although the hazard was evidently very great, as he was obliged to expose himself upon that element, the dominion of which the destinies had given to his rival. He immediately ordered admiral Gauteaume to have the two frigates which lay at Alexandria ready for sea, without ac-

quainting him with the object ; and general Menou was entrusted with the secret just in time to apprise the persons who were to accompany him to prepare themselves for their departure. On the 23d of August, says Denon, who was one of the party, at one o'clock "we were told that Bonaparte waited in the road ; an hour after, we were at sea." He left the following address to the army :

Bonaparte, Commander in Chief, to the army.

Head-Quarters, Alexandria, August 22, 1799.

"In consequence of the news from Europe, I have determined to return immediately to France. I leave the command of the army to general Kleber ; they shall hear from me speedily ; this is all I can say to them at present. It grieves me to the heart to part from the brave men to whom I am so tenderly attached ; but it will be only for an instant ; and the general I leave at their head is in full possession of the confidence of the government and of mine.

BONAPARTE."

Notwithstanding all the ports of Egypt were under the strictest blockade, and the British cruisers watched the coast with the utmost vigilance, keeping the ports almost hermetically sealed, and traversed every part of the Mediterranean, this terrific commander put to sea unobserved, and landed safely on the shores of France without meeting with a single vessel during the whole voyage. A storm drove the vessels into the port of Ajaccio, his native town, where he was received by the people with that enthusiasm of joy and admiration, which his mighty name and fame were calculated to inspire. Having put to sea again, and when in sight of the coast of France, an English squadron of seven sail was discovered ; the commander ordered the topmasts to be lowered to escape observation ; and proposed to return to Corsica ; but Bonaparte, assuming the command, insisted upon making for the coast of Provence, where they arrived safe and landed amidst the acclamations of an astonished mul-

itude, who were so surprised at the sudden and unlooked for appearance of the hero of the Republic, that they could hardly believe their senses, and would not credit the fact, on the hoisting of the general's flag at the mast-head.

It is impossible to read an account of the exertions of the French in Egypt, without the highest admiration of that unequalled intrepidity, resolution and perseverance, by which they are characterised. The enemies with which they had to contend, although numerous and warlike, and like the hydra, when subdued immediately sprang up again, was the least considerable of the difficulties which they had to encounter. Those arising from the climate, the nature of the country, rivers, deserts, the want of water and provisions, sickness, and the plague which prevailed, the loss of the fleet, and the strict blockade of the coast by the British, were more serious, and could not be overcome by any human exertions. The perseverance, patience, and undaunted heroism, with which the French contended with the innumerable and almost insuperable difficulties that surrounded them, excites our admiration, and lead us to forget the injustice and cruelties which they practised. With the exception of the siege of Acre, whenever and wherever they met the enemy, they were uniformly and signally successful; yet their numerous brilliant victories seemed only to create more enemies, and produce little or no effect towards permanently establishing their power. It is an interesting and even a sublime spectacle to behold brave men, resolutely, perseveringly and successfully, contending with difficulties. Whoever has perused without the greatest interest and admiration, the struggles of Greece against the millions of the Persian monarch; the memorable exertions of Hannibal in Italy in the heart of an enemy's country, the retreat of Zenophon with the ten thousand Greeks, or that of Moreau with the French army from Germany, equally glorious, can read of the

struggles of Bonaparte, and his followers in Egypt, without admiring their unequalled heroism and perseverance. But our admiration of these qualities ought not to throw a veil over their crimes.

The conduct of Bonaparte and the French in Egypt, has been represented as oppressive, cruel and sanguinary in the highest degree. These charges have principally come from the English, whose natural antipathies and prejudices, always strong, and inflamed at that period, undoubtedly require that considerable allowance should be made.

Sir Robert Wilson, then a colonel in the British service, published a book concerning the war in Egypt, in which he publicly accused Bonaparte of the most enormous crimes ; shocking to conceive, and almost too incredible to believe : —“ Bonaparte,” says Wilson, “ having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword ; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives ; and, let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army, in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian army ! this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy, of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you.

“ Three days afterwards, Bonaparte who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners,* ordered them to be marched to a

* “ Bonaparte had, in person, previously inspected the whole body, amounting to near 5,000 men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran janizary, attracted his observation ; and he asked him, sharply, “ Old man ! what

rising ground, near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal-gun fired.—Vollies of musketry and grape instantly played against them; and Bonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the *etat-major*, who commanded, (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent,) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Bonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

“When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and, probably, many languished days in agony.—Several French officers, by whom these details are partly furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

“These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alludes to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of

did you here?” The janizary, undaunted, replied, “I must answer that question by asking you the same: your answer will be, that you came to serve your sultan; so did I mine.” The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Bonaparte even smiled! “He is saved!” whispered some of the aids-de-camp. “You know not Bonaparte,” observed one, who had served with him in Italy: “that smile (I speak from experience) does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence; remember what I say.” The opinion was too true. The janizary was left in the ranks doomed to death, and suffered.

that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which contributed to produce the pestilential malady, which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

"The bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives ; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

"Such a fact should not, however, be alleged without some proof or leading circumstance, stronger than assertion, being produced to support it : but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy, for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution ; therefore, to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was Bon's division which fired ; and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying himself respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

"The next circumstance is of a nature which requires, indeed, the most particular details to establish ; since the idea can scarce be entertained, that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or, if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized) to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carrier, and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.

"Bonaparte, finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, from important reasons cannot be here inserted ; on his arrival, he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion ; concluding, at

last, with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but, finding that Bonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: "Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a murderer; and, general, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them."

"Bonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary, who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and minister poison to the sick. Opium, at night, was distributed, in gratifying food; the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours 580 soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably, by the order of its idol.

"Is there a Frenchman whose blood does not chill with horror at the recital of such a fact? Surely the manes of these murdered unoffending people must be now hovering round the seat of government."

These statements have been denied by the French, and attempted to be refuted by a report of the proceedings in Egypt, drawn up by colonel Sebastiani, a French officer who was on the spot; and general Andreossi the French Ambassador, at the court of St. James, complained of them to the British government, which occasioned a reply from Sir R. Wilson, through the public papers. But it has been said that Sir R. Wilson, a few years since, and while Bonaparte was confined at St. Helena, wrote to the fallen hero, and

apologized for the foul charges he had made against him.

Dr. Desgenette, the physician general to the army, and who is the person alluded to as having been ordered by Bonaparte to administer poison to the sick, and refused to obey, in a work entitled *Histoire Medicale del Armee d'Orient*, expressly declares that the "general in chief shewed the utmost attention and tenderness to the soldiers afflicted with the plague, visited them in person whilst confined by that dreadful malady, and even assisted in the most menial offices for their relief."

It has also been urged, as it respects the Turks said to have been slaughtered at Jaffa, that Bonaparte had previously given them their liberty *on condition* that they should not serve against the French, notwithstanding which they were taken in combat; but the force of this excuse, if there could be any excuse for such an act, is greatly weakened from the consideration that if the Turks thus discharged by Bonaparte, in adhering to the condition imposed by him, had refused to obey the pacha, they would have been put to death for disobedience of his orders.

Whatever truth there may be in these high charges, and enormous crimes, there can be no doubt but that the operations of Bonaparte in Egypt were characterised by great injustice, violence and outrage. From the very nature of the case it could not be otherwise. The invasion of the country was an act of as great injustice as could be committed against the inhabitants; yet perhaps no country could be subdued and conquered by force of arms, that would be a less outrage against the rights of humanity and of national independence than that of Egypt. It cannot be justifiable in any case for one nation to make war upon another, solely for the purpose of making a conquest of them, and seizing upon their country, although nothing has been more common; yet there is a great difference between conquering a free and civilized nation to en-

slave the inhabitants, and the conquering a barbarous nation where they are already slaves. Egypt, the parent; and long the seat of civilization, the sciences and arts, was then under a foreign dominion, and in the most degraded and barbarous condition. The conquest of the country by the French could not have made the *condition* of the inhabitants worse, but it might have exterminated them.

From these considerations, the invasion and conquest of Egypt by the French, was a much less outrage upon the rights of humanity, than the invasion and conquest of Hindostan, by the British. The latter nation were independent, if not free, and compared with the other, in a civilized, prosperous and happy condition. As to the *means* made use of, for the conquest of the two countries, there is little difference. If there are no single instances in which the British have been guilty of as great outrages and enormities against the unoffending nations of India, as the French were against those in Egypt; yet the aggregate, or sum total of injustice, cruelty and outrage, will greatly preponderate in the British scale. Yet it is this nation whose conquests extend to every part of the globe, and which has stained the shores of every continent, and almost every island in the known world, with the blood of its innocent inhabitants, that has complained most of the conquests of the French, and of their injustice and cruelties.

CHAPTER VIII.

Bonaparte's journey from Fregus to Paris....The joy with which he is received....His popular manners....Various incidents of his past life illustrative of his character....His presentation to the Directory after his return from Italy....His speech....He is chosen a member of the Institute....His installation....He lives in retirement at Paris....Political revolution....Bonaparte appointed to command the military force....He enters the Council of Five Hundred....His perilous situation....The Chamber dispersed by the soldiers....Bonaparte chosen Consul....New Constitution adopted....Attention to etiquette....Citizen Seiyes....His retirement, and events of his public life.

BONAPARTE set out, almost immediately from Fregus, where he landed, for Paris. During his journey, he was every where received with the strongest demonstrations of joy; the people surrounding, saluted him with the cry of peace! peace! an evidence how much the nation sighed for the greatest of all blessings, and that they looked to him as the only man capable of healing the wounds of their country, at which its life's blood so freely flowed. He reached the capital on the 16th of October; with the rapidity of lightning, the news spread over the city; all hastened to behold the hero whom they had once honoured as the conqueror of Italy, and whom they now saluted as the "conqueror of Egypt;" the most rapturous joy was manifested, and each seemed desirous of out doing the rest in welcoming home the hero of the nation, and in testifying his joy on the occasion. He arrived at a great crisis; when the flames of insurrection had been lighted up in the southern and eastern departments of France, and the torches of discord in the capital; when from the imbecility of the government and the violence of the factions, the most alarming disorders every where prevailed; and at the very time that general Jourdan in the council of Five Hundred had proposed a decree, "declaring the country in danger." The afflicted and critical condition of the

nation undoubtedly, contributed to the transports of joy manifested by the people at the return of Bonaparte, as in the agitation and alarm which prevailed, it was natural from his unexpected appearance, and the eclat attached to his name, for the people to regard him, as having returned for their deliverance. When the confidence in the government was in a great measure destroyed, and faction reigned in the capital, and insurrection in the departments, not knowing to what quarter to look for succor or security, all eyes were fixed upon the man who had done so much to extend the glory of his country; who in all his wars had never been defeated, and who had once "conquered a peace" with all their enemies on the continent.

Bonaparte did not fail to promote these feelings in the people; he assumed an affability in his manners that he did not possess before he left France; he conversed freely with the people, and shook by the hand several soldiers, who had belonged to the "army of Italy." A tropical sun and the sands of Egypt, had bronzed his complexion; his hair was cut short and without powder; he was not in uniform, but had on a grey riding coat with a silk scarf over his shoulders, suspending a Turkish sabre: his whole appearance novel and striking, suggested the idea of greater manliness and energy, than his physiognomy had formerly disclosed. On entering the city, amidst the acclamations of the populace, he passed along the courts and streets leading to the Luxembourg, and immediately had a private audience with the directory.

Having conducted our hero back to Paris, before following him farther in his career of great achievements, we will notice some incidents and anecdotes, which, in narrating the great events of his life that follow in such rapid succession, we have been obliged to pass over.

During the discussion that took place at Leoben, relative to the preliminaries of peace, from his restiveness of temper and "off hand" mode of doing bu-

ness, Bonaparte became impatient and greatly chagrined at the phlegm of the Germans, and the tedious formal and perplexing manner in which the negotiations were conducted. When he perceived that the first article of the preliminaries that had been drawn up, contained a formal recognition of the French republic, he could no longer suppress his indignation at the stupidity of the imperial negotiators, but observed with great warmth, "The French republic is like the sun in the firmament, and blind are they who do not acknowledge its splendour." This occasioned the article to be immediately expunged. Being irritated with his colleagues, thinking that they had not manifested a proper solicitude for the honour of the Republic, or paid sufficient attention to his propositions, he took up a china jar that stood near him, and dashing it on the ground exclaimed, "since you provoke me, thus will I reduce you to powder." The marquis de Gallo conducted himself with the greatest address, moderation and prudence, from a constant apprehension that the petulance of Bonaparte's temper would put an end to the negotiations. One day after a long debate, Bonaparte said with great indignation, "Well then I will carry my answer to Vienna."

It has been related as an instance of his liberality, that during the negotiation the Emperor had sent three of the principal nobility of his court, as hostages, and having been invited to dine with Bonaparte, at the close of the entertainment they were agreeably surprised at receiving the following address from the general: "Gentlemen, you are free—Go, tell your master that if his imperial word requires a pledge, you cannot serve as such; and if it requires none, you ought not."

After the conquest of Venice, Bonaparte sent a small fleet with some troops commanded by general Gentili, to take possession of the Greek isles which belonged to that republic. The following extract from his dispatch to the Directory, giving an account of his

expedition, contains some curious particulars, and shews the pride he felt, in conquering in the name of the "great nation," and in assuming the character of the apostle of liberty, and the emancipater of the states and islands, where, in the glorious days of Greece and Rome, liberty and the arts once flourished.

"The 10th Messidor, our troops landed, and were received on shore by an immense crowd of people, who testified their joy by shouts of enthusiasm, such as never fails to animate those who recover their liberty. At the head of the people was their *papa*, or first minister of religion, a well-informed man, and seemingly very old; he came up to general Gentili, and addressed him in these words—'Frenchmen, you will find in this island a people extremely ignorant of those arts and sciences which illustrate other nations; but despise them not on that account, they may one day become again what they were before. Learn, in reading this book, to respect them. The general opened the book, with great curiosity, which the *papa* had presented to him, and was not a little surprised to see that it was the *Odyssey* of Homer.—The islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and St. Maure, have expressed the same ardent wishes for liberty, and hope that, under the protection of the great nation, they will recover their long-lost arts, sciences, and commerce."

The following anecdote has been related of Bonaparte as an evidence of his vindictive disposition; but its authenticity is more than doubtful. When at Milan madame Bonaparte invited the celebrated singer Marchesi, who resided there to dine, expecting that he would entertain the company that might be present, with his musical powers, but being a great aristocrat, the singer refused the invitation of the lady of the renowned general; it was repeated and refused again. Bonaparte had recourse to authority, and commanded him to attend; but the commands of the general were no more attended to, than the invitations of his lady. The consequence was that the musical aristocrat, was

paid for his insolence ; he received an order to quit Milan in ten hours ; this was followed by another directing him to retire to his country house about thirty miles from Milan, there to remain for six months ; a guard of six soldiers, was sent to enforce this order, and to be maintained at the expense of the offender.

The journey of Bonaparte from Italy to Paris, was marked by some interesting incidents. Affecting great simplicity, his equipage was that of a private gentleman, having no attendants but two generals, two aids, a secretary and physician. At Geneva, he was surrounded by immense crowds, who flocked from all quarters to see the man, of whom they had heard so much ; having dined with the French resident, he proceeded on, relays of horses being in waiting. He passed the night at Mondon, where he was received with the greatest honour by the celebrated colonel Weiss, bailiff of the place, well known by his political and philosophical writings, his zeal in support of liberal principles, and his profound admiration of Bonaparte. Near Avenche, his carriage broke down, which occurrence compelled him to walk several miles : of the crowd of spectators who collected to behold the conqueror of Italy, one of them speaks of him as follows :

“I had an opportunity of being very near to him, and he seemed to me always to be talking to those around him as if he was thinking about something else : he has the mark of great sense in his countenance, and an air of profound meditation, which reveals nothing that is passing within ; he seems constantly big with deep thought, which will, some day or other, influence the destinies of Europe. A burgess of Morat, a man about five feet ten inches high, observed with astonishment the figure of the general. ‘How small a stature for so great a man !’ cried he, loud enough to be heard by one of the aids-de-camp. ‘He is exactly the height of Alexander,’ said some one. ‘Yes,’ said the aid-de-camp, ‘and that is not the only trait of resemblance.’

"At Faubroun, a little village nine miles from Berne, he supped with a large party, who had, out of curiosity and respect, accompanied his train; and after that he went on to Soleure. All the towns through which he passed in the night were illuminated. At Basle he stopped some hours, walked round the town, and received a long and fulsome address from the burgomaster. In passing through Lausanne, they had prepared a great fete for him, which he did not seem to enjoy; three citizens stopped his carriage and presented to him three young women, who repeated some fine complimentary verses, which they had got by heart; an immense crowd assembled about him, and testified great joy by their shouts and acclamations. He thanked them with great good humour, but seemed to have more need of sleep than of compliments: he appeared, indeed, every where to shew a profound contempt for popular opinion and popular applause. He spoke very little to strangers through his whole journey, and seemed to be sensible that every word he said would be noted."

The government of Berne had sent a deputy to him at Milan, who accompanied him on his journey, and had a son with him, a boy about thirteen years old, and of very quick parts, much above his age. Bonaparte seemed always very fond of talking to him. He found him one day with a map of Switzerland.— "What are you looking at there?" said the general. "Some parts of my own country which I am not acquainted with," replied the youth. "Do you know that part?" said Bonaparte, pointing to Porentrui.— "That does not belong to us," replied the youth.— "We mean to give it you," returned the general.— "And what do you mean to ask in exchange?" said the boy. "Nothing," said Bonaparte, "we will make you a present of it." "Nothing!" returned the youth, thoughtfully. "*Ah! Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" Bonaparte immediately turned to his father, and said, "Take care of the boy's education; he will be no common man, some day or other."

When he came near to the little village of Faubroun, which is surrounded with thick fir-trees, he got out of his carriage and walked to the inn, humming the tune of "*Paisible bois.*" He talked very freely with the landlord, and asked him if he paid many taxes? "No," said the man, "we hardly know what they are."—"Have you no land of your own?" "Yes, about fifty pounds a year." "Do you pay no taxes for that?" "Yes, the tythes and quit-rent, which are no more than the annual wages of one of my husbandmen; I reckoned that in the expense of working my land, and I paid for it accordingly." "Does your government levy no tax upon the land?" "None." "How then does it pay its expenses?" "With the produce of its domains, which is not only sufficient for the purpose, but leaves a balance every year."—"You are very well satisfied with your government then, I suppose?" "And so I ought to be," replied the landlord, "with a government which does great good to the poor and no harm to the rich." "If all this be true," said Bonaparte, turning to one of his officers, "these are the happiest people in the world."

Bonaparte made a stop at Rastadt, to open the conferences of the congress which was to be held at that place; and whilst he was there he was introduced to count Ferzen, the envoy of Sweden to the congress, and notorious for his attachment to royalty, and his hatred to the French revolution. Bonaparte received the count coolly, but with civility, and instantly asked what minister the court of Sweden had at Paris; to which the count, with evident confusion, replied "None." "I am surprised," said the general, "that your king should have sent a person to represent him at this congress, who was known to be essentially disagreeable to every French citizen! Would not the king," continued he, "be offended, if a minister from France should be sent to Stockholm, who had attempted to excite the subjects of his majesty to insurrection? And upon what principle, then, has he sent men, too

well known for their attachment to the old court, to face the ministers of the first nation on earth, and which too well knows how to maintain its dignity? Irritated and confused, the count retired, observing that he should report to his majesty the language addressed to him.

Bonaparte believed that, "to be esteemed a god, a man must not live with mortals." He was sensible that no man was ever thought a hero, by his footman. Accordingly, whilst he remained at Paris, he lived in great retirement.—He occupied a small house, in a retired street, received very little company; avoided all places of public resort, and never went abroad but in a plain carriage with two horses; he never appeared but twice at any public assembly. He occasionally, however, dined with the different ministers of state; and was cautious of giving any offence to the directory, who before he left Italy had appointed him to the command of the army of England. It seems to have been the policy of Bonaparte to acquire popularity, by appearing not to seek it, or even to esteem it; and he accordingly treated popular applause with an apparent indifference, approaching almost to contempt.

Although always decided in his expressions of contempt for royalty, and his attachment to republican doctrines, he affected great moderation, and openly avowed his aversion to the principles as well as the conduct of the jacobins. He dreaded their power as a party, but considered that as individuals they might be useful to his own purposes. He regarded them as useful instruments in the hands of others, but as greatly to be dreaded when left to their own direction.

In the constitutions of Italy, which were framed entirely by his direction, as little of the popular leaven was incorporated as possible; and the governments were organized by officers of his own appointment. Before he left Milan, he ordered all the popular societies to be suppressed, and constantly addressed the military, not only as the liberators and deliverers of

Italy, but as the guardians and preservers of the governments he had established there.

The treaty of peace was dictated by him, and he is said to have advised the directory to pursue the policy of making separate treaties with the allied powers, and thereby break up the coalition; and also that of affecting great moderation, and of making peace with the emperor of Austria upon such reasonable conditions, as might induce the other powers to treat when they perceived that even the vanquished obtained favourable terms.

The presentation of Bonaparte to the directory, after his return from Italy, was an august and splendid ceremony. To view the general, who by his valour and prowess, had vanquished the most formidable armies ever sent into the field against France, scattered the imperial eagles, defeated the plans of a coalition of despots, whose hostile designs aimed at the subjugation of France, supported the independence and extended the power of his country, was an occasion the most momentous, and required a display corresponding with the national feeling and gratitude.

The great court of the Luxembourg, covered with immense awnings, the walls decorated with hangings of national colours and military trophies, was the place selected for this grand and magnificent national fete. At one end of the court was erected an altar, surmounted with the statues of liberty, equality and peace, with the different standards which had been taken from the enemy; seats in a semicircular form were arranged on each side of the altar, forming a vast amphi theatre, which was to be occupied by the national authorities, and conservatory of music; the colours of the different armies of the republic were suspended from the walls. The people rushed to the spot like the movement of mighty waters, when the barriers which have restrained them are suddenly broken down; the court and windows of the palace were lined, and a vast multitude filled all the neighbouring streets, not

being able to get admittance within. The acclamations which perpetually resounded from all quarters, evinced the strong patriotic impulse, which animated all classes, and made the "welkin ring" with shouts of joy. At twelve o'clock at noon, the discharge of cannon announced the commencement of the performances, and the procession, consisting of the directory, the ministers of state, and the constituted authorities, began to move from the different places at which they had assembled, towards the Luxembourg, and as they arrived, took the seats assigned them. The president of the directory then gave orders that the foreign ministers, the minister of war and general Bonaparte, Joubert and Andressi be informed that the directory were ready to receive them. The conservatory of music began a beautiful symphony, which, however, was soon drowned in the reiterated shouts of ten thousand voices, of "Vive la Republic"! "Vive la Bonaparte"—"Long live the great Nation." The noise and acclamations continued, the crowd pressed forward, every one stood tiptoe with expectation, and every eye sparkling with curiosity, was fixed on the great door whence the hero was expected; *Bonaparte entered*—it was an electric shock; the enthusiasm of the people was instantly raised to the highest pitch; the immense mass became animated with one soul and were impelled by the same impulse; with one accord, as if with one voice, all shouted "The deliverer of Italy"—"The pacificator of the continent"—"The hero of the Republic."

Bonaparte now advanced with calmness and dignity; his situation was the most sublime and impressive that a mortal could be placed in, and put the feelings of the man to the greatest trial they could possibly experience; yet he shewed no signs of the least agitation, or even excitement, but disclosed the same coolness and presence of mind he had done in the midst of battle. He advanced, accompanied by the minister of war, the minister of foreign relations, and his aid-

de-camp ; the music played the hymn to liberty, and every one stood up uncovered ; when he approached the steps of the altar of liberty, he was presented to the directory by Talleyrand, in a speech suited to the occasion : when Talleyrand had finished, a profound silence ensued : all was anxiety and expectation ; every eye was fixed upon Bonaparte, whose modesty, simplicity and calmness, heightened the novelty and grandeur of his situation—all were eager to hear the hero of Italy, each in his own mind figuring him at the bridge of Lodi, at Arcola, or Campo Formio. He presented the president of the directory, the emperor of Austria's ratification of the treaty, and spoke as follows :

“CITIZEN DIRECTORS—

“The French people, in order to be free, had to combat with kings ; to obtain a constitution founded upon reason, they had to vanquish the prejudices of eighteen centuries. The constitution of the third year, and you, have triumphed over all obstacles. Religion, feudality, and royalty, have successively governed Europe ; but, the peace which you have concluded dates the æra of representative governments. You have organized the great nation, whose vast territory is circumscribed only by the limits which nature herself hath placed. You have done more. The two most beautiful parts of Europe, formerly so celebrated for the arts, the sciences, and the great men which they produced, see, with renovated hope, the genius of liberty rise from the tombs of their ancestors. These are the two pedestals on which the destinies have placed other nations. I have the honour to present the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his imperial majesty. Peace gives the earnest of liberty, prosperity and glory to the republic. When the happiness of the French people shall rest on well-formed organic laws, all Europe will become free.”

As the voice of the hero died away, the sound of innumerable voices like the rushing of winds pent up in hollow rocks, was instantly heard ; the air was rent

with innumerable shouts of "Long live the republic!"—"Long live Bonaparte!"—"Long live the conqueror of Italy." A long speech, in answer to the general's; from the president of the directory, was succeeded by the fraternal embrace; and all the other members of the directory followed the example. Bonaparte having descended from the altar, was conducted by the minister of foreign relations to an armed chair prepared for his reception in front of the diplomatic body. The conservatory of music then performed the *Chant de Retour*, the words by Chenier and the music by Mehul. The other generals were then successively presented to the directory in their order, addresses delivered and returned, and each took the seat designed for him; and the band played the *chant du depart*. The ceremonies being closed, the directors dissolved the sitting, and the procession formed and returned to the palace. The departure of the hero of the fete excited the same transports of joy, and the same resounding acclamations as his entrance. A magnificent dinner at the Luxembourg, at which an immense number of civil and military officers and citizens attended, followed; and a ball in the evening at the house of the minister of the interior, concluded this patriotic, splendid and august national fete.

Bonaparte not only assumed the character of a Republican, and advocate of popular and liberal principles, but that of a man of science and of letters; not merely as a patron of learning in others, but as possessing it himself. Hence he always made use of his title of "member of the National Institute," and even placed it before that of general. At a literary dinner, given by Francis de Neufchateau, he entered into conversation with every scientific man present in his own line: with Lagrange and La Place he talked of mathematics; of metaphysics, with Sieyes; with Chenier of poetry; of politics with Gallios, and of legislation and public law with Daunou.

The day after he was nominated to be a member of the institute in the class of mechanics, he communica-

ted to Camus, the president, the following letter; which, whilst it discloses the modesty of his own pretensions, shews his profound respect for literature.

“CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

“The good opinion of the distinguished men who compose the national institute does me the highest honour. I perceive, that, before I become their equal, I must be a long time their scholar. If I knew one method more expressive than another of testifying my esteem for them, I should employ it. The only true conquests, and those which leave no regret, are those which we gain over ignorance. The most honourable and the most useful of all employments is to extend the bounds of human knowledge. The true power of the French republic ought, henceforth, to consist in appropriating to itself every great discovery.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.”

Bonaparte was not wanting in respect to his lady; she participated in many of the fetes and dinners with which he was honoured; and he attended her to numerous balls and parties, where he had little desire to go on his own account.

Bonaparte was distinguished, not by the richness and splendour of his dress, but by its marked simplicity and plainness; which rendered him more conspicuous where every other individual decorated his person with the most superb dress. He always appeared in public in a plain coat and without powder.

He intended to have his installation at the national institute, entirely private; but it becoming known, the room was immediately thronged; for Bonaparte never appeared, without collecting a crowd together. The members appearing took their places, and Bonaparte among the rest, in his usual dress, a plain grey frock-coat, there being nothing in particular to distinguish the man whose fame had filled all Europe, and whose conquests embraced a considerable part of it. The commander and hero was transformed into the modest citizen, affording no marks of superiority over

his associates, either in his stature, his manners or his dress ; but although divested of the appendages of his greatness and glory, the eclat of his name could not be hidden ; you might as well have extinguished the sun. The moment he was discovered, he attracted the attention of every one present, and the room resounded with shouts of applause, which were renewed whenever in the performances any allusion was made to him, or any thing occurred which could be applied to the hero of the Republic. It is a curious instance of the vicissitude of the fortune and the whimsical destinies of individuals, that Bonaparte, who was indebted to his friend Carnot for the command of the army of Italy, which led to all his glory, was elected in the room of his former friend, who had recently been banished.

This worthy man and distinguished patriot, in a pamphlet which he published about a month before Bonaparte left France for Egypt, complains of his ingratitude to himself, to whom he was under great obligations for his elevation to the command of the army of Italy.

"I was so persuaded," says Carnot, "that it was impossible that Bonaparte had contributed to my proscription, that, when he passed, on his way to Rastatt, through a small town, where I was for a short time, I was on the point of sending him a note, in order to ask of him a momentary interview ; and, if I did not do it, it was, because I feared that I might put him to some trouble ; for I had never entertained the smallest doubt about his generosity. I then let him pass, and illuminated my windows, as did all the inhabitants, reflecting, in the gayest humour, on the whimsical destinies of mankind. A few days afterwards I felt extremely happy in having acted as I did ; when I heard, that, at Geneva, Bonaparte had put under confinement a banker, called Bontems, only because he was suspected to have taken me from Paris to Geneva, after the 18th Fructidor, in order to rescue me from the pursuits of the directory, who sent out whole battalions and artillery to find me, in the neighbourhood

of Paris. The suspicion was unfounded ; I had never seen Bontems in Paris, and it was not to him that I owed the obligation to have taken me out of the frontiers : the unhappy man remained, however, several months in prison ! Such is the account I heard from many persons, who had seen him at Geneva, and who had heard him mention the fact ; adding, that Bonaparte was excessively angry, and made him the most violent threats."

We now return to our narrative. We left our hero at Paris ; where he remained in retirement, declining all visits of ceremony.

He was not, however, inactive ; he perceived that a crisis in the government was approaching, and determined to take advantage of the existing state of things. He knew that the feelings of the people were strongly in his favour, and considered that the best way to maintain his popularity was to seclude himself from the gaze of idle curiosity ; every body talked of him, but few, if any, really knew him. He was active in attaching to himself men of talents and enterprise, in whom he could safely confide, and who might be useful to him in any plans he might attempt to carry into execution.

But men, who have the same general design in view, however different may be the considerations which have led to it, or the personal objects they are aiming at, usually find little difficulties in discovering each other's sentiments, and as little in acting in concert, where they can be mutually beneficial in accomplishing the principal object ; each calculating, as is often the case, to turn it afterwards to his own exclusive advantage. This was the case with Bonaparte and Sieyes, then one of the directors. Sieyes had for some time meditated a change in the government, and had suggested to Ducos, one of his colleagues, and who was entirely devoted to him, his plan of strengthening the executive, by calling in one of the generals, which he considered the only means of saving the directory and the republic from that anarchy, which,

from the imbecility of the government, seemed hastening upon it. He was accordingly pleased at the enthusiasm which the people manifested on the return of Bonaparte, whilst the other directors were greatly alarmed at it. An understanding soon took place between the ex-chief of the army of Egypt and the ex-priest, both equally distinguished in *their line*; both equally cunning and hypocritical, and each calculating to dupe the other. To mature their plans, various secret conferences, or what in this country we should call caucuses, were held, at which Sieyes, Bonaparte, his brothers Lucien and Joseph, Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer and Rheinhard were present. They spread abroad various rumours, and particularly one, that there was to be a new plan of government adopted, which was generally circulated, although no one knew from whence it originated; and tended to prepare the minds of the people for a change.

To remove all suspicions from their colleagues, Sieyes and Ducos prevailed on them to give a public dinner to generals Bonaparte and Moreau; which was attended by all the functionaries of the government, the principal military officers at Paris, and the leaders of the different factions. The president of the directory gave for a toast "Peace," and Bonaparte "a union of all parties," with great sincerity no doubt, for the same evening he met his own party in secret conclave at the house of M. le Mercier, president of the council of ancients, to perfect their plans, and assign to each his part. It was determined to assemble the most moderate men of the council of ancients at a special meeting, at which the jacobins and the most violent members were not to be present, nor informed of the meeting. The select members, very few of whom, however, were in the secret, or had any knowledge of the object of the sitting, assembled in the Thuilleries, agreeably to notice, on the 9th of November, 1799, at five o'clock in the morning. Cornet, the reporter of the committee of inspectors, opened the meeting with a speech, representing in glowing language

the alarming disorders which prevailed, the designs of the factions, and the danger of the republic, and concluded with proposing that, according to the 102d and 103d articles of the constitution, the council adjourn to St. Cloud, and that general Bonaparte be charged with the execution of this decree, and for this purpose appointed commander of all the troops of Paris, the national guards and the guards of the two councils.— This decree was carried by a great majority.

A proclamation was immediately issued, in which it was stated, that this measure had been adopted by the council of ancients, in order to repress the factions which pretended to enslave the national representation; to restore internal, and open a way for external peace, which the long sufferings of the people demanded, and for the safety and prosperity of the republic.

Bonaparte being informed of his appointment, appeared, accompanied by generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and other officers, at the bar of the council, and the president notifying him of his appointment, he spoke as follows :

“CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES !

“The republic was perishing—you knew this, and your decree has saved it. Woe be to those who wish for anarchy, whoever they may be ! aided by generals Berthier, Lefebvre, and all my brave companions in arms, I shall arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past for examples to justify the present ; for nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the eighteenth century, and nothing in that resembles the present moment.

“Your wisdom has issued this decree—our arms shall execute it. We demand a republic founded on a just basis, on *true* liberty, on civil liberty and national representation, and we will have it. We will have it—I swear it—I swear it in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades.”

The following day was big with important events. Bonaparte had taken prompt measures to carry into ef-

fect the decree, and surrounded the castle of St. Cloud with troops before day-light ; every avenue being strictly guarded, no one was permitted to enter except the members of the two councils, who could not pass without shewing the medals, and a few others who had tickets of admittance. The sitting was to commence at 12 o'clock, but did not until two ; the council of ancients met in the picture gallery, and the council of five hundred in the Oragerie. The debates in the latter were opened by an animated speech from Gaudin, who after expatiating upon the alarming and critical posture of affairs, proposed raising a committee of seven to take into consideration the best means for public safety. This motion, which was expected to have been carried without opposition, had scarcely been suggested, when several leading jacobin members darted forward into the tribune, crying "down with dictators," which soon became general ; others exclaimed "the constitution or death ! we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our posts." Instantly it was proposed that every member take a fresh oath to preserve the constitution. The proceedings having occasioned such excitement, and thrown the other party off their guard, that the cry of "long live the constitution" became general, and the motion was immediately carried. The ridiculous farce of renewing the oath, took up two hours time ; and the members no doubt considered with Hudibras, not only that oaths had no force until they were *broken*, but also that

Oaths are but words, and words but wind,
Too feeble implements to bind.

The only object gained or expected by renewing the oath, was delay, which was of no small importance to the jacobins. This ceremony being over, various motions were made and discussed with great confusion ; and some were carried directly opposite to the wishes of those who were in the views of Bonaparte and Sieyes.

A letter was received by the president ; it was from Barras, communicating his resignation ; but was couch-

ed in such ambiguous terms, as seemed to insinuate a desire of being employed under a new order of things expected; a violent debate ensued upon the question whether the assembly should proceed to the choice of a new director. Great confusion arose, which was increased from the circumstance, of many of the members who were well disposed towards a change, being ignorant of the plan of operations, and of the intentions of Bonaparte;—all the elements of faction, violence, and political dissention, were agitated; a tremendous storm seemed gathering, and the angry clouds of passion appeared charged with electric wrath; a tumultuous and violent discussion ensued. Bonaparte being informed of these violent and outrageous proceedings, became greatly agitated; he hastened to the assembly, and leaving his arms in an anti-chamber, immediately entered the hall, accompanied by a few grenadiers, who waited within the door, and were without arms. As he advanced towards the top of the hall, the house was instantly in motion; the cry from numerous voices was heard: “A general here!” “what does Bonaparte want with us?” “This is not your place.”—Some rushed towards the tribune, others towards Bonaparte, exclaiming vehemently, “Cesar! Cromwell! no dictators! down with the tyrant! down with him! kill him! kill him.” The press towards Bonaparte became great, and his danger imminent; numbers assailed him; several members drew their poniards and pistols; he was pushed back and struck at; and a deputy of the name of Arena, a native of Corsica, aimed a blow at him with a dagger, which was parried by a grenadier of the name of Thome, who had advanced to the assistance of his general, and was himself wounded by the blow. By another blow, Bonaparte was wounded on the cheek.

• The president, Lucien Bonaparte, having so far restored order as to be heard, attempted to address the chamber; “The general,” he observed, “has undoubtedly no other intention than to acquaint the council with the present situation of affairs.”—Here his voice

was drowned in loud clamours and threats from all quarters ; and Bonaparte was assailed by such numbers and with such violence that he was so overpowered as to be on the point of falling, like Cesar, in the violated sanctuary of legislation, when he was rescued from his critical situation by general Lefebvre, who with a body of armed grenadiers rushed into the hall, surrounded him, and carried him out. The instant the hall was clear of soldiers, a motion was made and carried, declaring that the council of ancients had no authority to invest Bonaparte with the command of the army, the constitution having entrusted the power of military appointments to the directory alone.

The president obtaining an opportunity to speak, animadverted with great severity on the disorderly conduct of the council, and the ferocious insults which some of the members had offered to an illustrious general who had rendered the most signal services to the republic ;—he was interrupted with cries of “ out-law him ! he has disgraced his military character, and deserves death from the hand of every patriot ; ”—others exclaimed “ The president is in the conspiracy, or he would have proclaimed the general outlawed.” The storm which had partially subsided revived ; the utmost confusion prevailed ; the house became an arena of gladiators, rather than a hall of legislation. The president, perceiving that his authority was entirely disregarded, and his life in danger, darted from the chair, and indignantly stripping himself of the insignia of his office, made his way to the tribune ; he attempted to speak ; but his voice was drowned in loud cries and imprecations against himself and his brother. He made a violent effort to be heard, but in vain ; tears of agony and indignation started from his eyes ; the house had become a mob, and he was surrounded and attacked on all sides. His destruction seemed inevitable, and would have been, had he not been rescued by the prompt interference of his brother the general. Having recovered from the fatigue of his late dangerous assault, Bonaparte hastened to the

court of the castle where the troops were drawn up, and instantly addressed them : " Soldiers ! every body thought that the council of five hundred would save the country, but instead of that I have seen only a furious and outrageous mob, ready to destroy me. I have some enemies ! comrades, may I rely on you ? " yes, yes, was the reply, followed by shouts of " Long live Bonaparte. " Selecting some grenadiers, he proceeded to the hall and instantly opened the doors, at the very moment Lucien was in danger of falling by the stilettoes of the deputies, and carried him off amidst their vociferations. He was followed by the more moderate members : Lucien went immediately to the council of ancients, to whom he related the recent events in the other branch of the Legislature, and the imminent danger to which himself and his brother had been exposed. He then proceeded to the general, who was inspiring the troops, and preparing them for the accomplishment of his ultimate object. After a moment's consultation with the general, he mounted a horse, the better to be seen and heard, and addressed the soldiers as follows :

" CITIZENS !—As president of the council of five hundred I declare to you, that the immense majority of the council is now subdued by the terror of some representatives, armed with poniards, and threatening with death those who would refuse to comply with their destructive measures. I declare to you, that those audacious assassins, no doubt paid by England, are in a state of rebellion against the council of ancients, and have threatened with an outlawry the very general intrusted with the wise measures of that council, as if we were still in the dreadful times of their reign, when the word *outlawed* ! was sufficient to cut off the most illustrious heads of the country. I declare to you, that those few assassins are themselves outlawed for having attacked the liberty of that council. In the name of the people, who, since so many years, are the victims of those wretched children of terror, I entrust to the brave soldiers the honourable task of res-

cuing the majority of the representatives ; in order, that, after being protected by the bayonets against the poniards, they may be able to deliberate for the welfare of the republic.

“ General ! soldiers ! and citizens ! you will only acknowledge for French legislators those who followed me out of that seditious assembly ; those who remain in the Orangerie must be driven from thence by force. Those assassins are not representatives of the people, but *representatives of the poniard* : such shall be their title wherever they may go ; and, whenever they will dare to show themselves to the people, let them be pointed at under the deserved appellation of “ representatives of the poniard.”

Lucien Bonaparte concluded his speech by crying out, “ Long live the republic ! ” and the soldiers shouted, “ Long live the republic ! Long live Bonaparte ! ”

General Serrurier made the following short and energetic speech to the soldiers :

“ SOLDIERS !—The council of elders approves general Bonaparte, whom the council of five hundred has attempted to assassinate. Villains ! we will overcome them, and peace shall be restored.”

The troops were then ordered to enter the hall of the council of five hundred ; and on approaching it, the commanding officer exclaimed “ General Bonaparte commands us to clear this hall.” The grenadiers advanced and filled the first half of the hall, the deputies, like a flock of sheep when pursued by dogs and unable to escape, retired to the further extremity, and crowded round the president’s chair. A deputy of the name of Talot addressed the soldiers : “ What, are you soldiers ? You are the guardians of the national representation—and you dare to menace its safety and independence ! Is it thus you tarnish the laurels you have gained in battle ? ” Many members attempted to address the soldiers and to conjure them in the name of liberty not to follow their leaders ; but the drums were ordered to beat, and they could not be heard. The grenadiers brought their muskets to a

charge and advanced; a novel scene of confusion, alarm and dismay was exhibited. Those deputies, who just before had sworn to die at their posts, braved bayonets only at a distance; in their haste to escape, they choked up the doors and windows, and tumbled "cheek by jowl" over one another in "confusion dire;" amidst the shouts of the soldiers from within, of "Long live the republic! long live Bonaparte!" and the hooting and hisses of the people from without, and the cry of "These are the representatives of the poniard." The chamber was soon cleared, with which the council of ancients was immediately acquainted.

Those members of the council of five hundred who had retired with their president, assembled in the Orangerie about nine in the evening, being protected by the troops. Lucien again took the chair and sent a message to the other house, informing that body of their having met. He then proposed the following resolutions, which were immediately adopted.

"The council of five hundred declares, That general Bonaparte and the other generals and officers commanding the troops, as likewise the soldiers employed at St. Cloud, having saved the majority of the legislature and the republic, attacked by a factious minority, composed of assassins, have deserved well of their country.

"The council declares, That the two brave grenadiers, Thomas Thome and I. B. Poiret, who have defended general Bonaparte against the poniards of the assassins, have also deserved well of the country."

A proposition was then submitted to raise a committee of five members, to consider the propriety of forming a new government. This being adopted, Lucien Bonaparte left the chair, and mounting the tribune, delivered an animated harangue, recounting all the disasters of the republic, which he attributed to the weakness of the government and the misconduct of the directory, whom he arraigned and censured with great indignation, and concluded with urging the necessity of establishing a new government. His speech was

received with the warmest applause, and repeated cries of "long live the republic."

Boulay de la Meurthe, chairman of the committee which had been appointed, soon returned with a report, consisting of the project of a decree for constituting a new government; which was introduced with a long speech, in which he examined the defects of the constitution, expatiated in glowing language upon the incapacity, profligacy and corruption of the directory, depicted in lively images the horrors of anarchy, with which the nation was threatened, and closed by urging the necessity of adopting a new system, comprising a strong executive, which alone could give solidity to the state, and prevent the restoration of the reign of anarchy and terror.

"The legislative body creates provisionally an executive committee, composed of citizens SIEYES, and ROGER DUCOS, ex-directors, and BONAPARTE, general. They shall bear the name of "CONSULS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC."

Thus in one day, an important revolution was successfully accomplished; the old government overturned, and a new one established. Barras, who had conspired against his colleague, Carnot, a most virtuous patriot, now knew what it was to *want for breath* himself, having experienced the same treatment from Sieyes; and Bonaparte, although entirely indebted to the two for his elevation, betrayed the last with as little reluctance, and from the same motives as he joined in the proscription of the first.

This event forms an important era in Bonaparte's life, as it was the first instance in which he engaged in political intrigues at home, and the first time that he was invested with civil authority.

We have hitherto, seen Bonaparte at the head of armies, as a commander and conqueror, we have seen his courage and skill in the field, but we are now to witness his capacity and talents as a statesman, and his firmness, wisdom and energy as a chief magistrate.

Being invested with the consular dignity, he imme-

finately, before the constitution was framed, or the government organized, bestowed his earnest attention to public affairs. He caused a decree to be passed in the council of five hundred, authorising the receivers general, to execute bonds for the amount of the direct taxes in their departments, payable in yearly instalments, and requiring them to pay one twentieth part in specie, to form a sinking fund for the reimbursement of the national debt, and the arrears of annuities, and ecclesiastical pensions were to be applied to the same object as they became extinct. Having caused these and other measures to be adopted, to ameliorate the condition of the finances, provide for the gradual liquidation of the national debts, and to restore public credit, which had long been extinct, he assembled the principal merchants and bankers of Paris, and laid before them the necessities of the government; attempted to raise their confidence in public credit by assuring them that a new order of things was established; that the reign of plunder, and the disregard of public faith was at an end. His exertions were so successful that the meeting, consisting of about seventy of the wealthiest men in Paris, unanimously voted a loan of ten millions of livres, and nominated a commission of seven to carry the plan into immediate execution.

As the organ of the supreme executive power, he made various arrangements as to the external relations of the republic. Talleyrand was retained in the situation he had held, at the head of foreign affairs; citizen Gronville was sent ambassador to Holland; Bourgoing to Denmark, and general Bournonville to the Court of Berlin.

The new constitution having been framed, was published at Paris, with great pomp, on the 14th of December; accompanied with an ordinance, directing all the different civil officers to open registers, to continue open fifteen days for the signatures of the citizens, either accepting or non-accepting the consular constitutional charter.

Readerer's analysis of this constitution is remarkable for its brevity and simplicity.

"He estimates the male inhabitants of age, and paying duties as a qualification to vote, at 5,000,000 citizen voters, who reduce themselves to 500,000 notables of communes; who reduce themselves to 50,000 notables of departments; who reduce themselves to 5000 notables of France; from whom are chosen 500 legislators, senate and tribunate; and also 80 conservators, 2 puisne consuls; and 1 grand consul; who choose 30 counsellors of state, and the ministers, ambassadors, commissioners, &c. The senate and the tribunate are not chosen by the five thousand notables of France, but out of that class. A body of eighty members, first constituted representatives of the nation, either by a competent election or by the acquiescence of the people, under the title of conservators, choose, first, all the members called to exercise the legislative power; and, secondly, the three chiefs of the executive power, (consuls,) the *first* of whom afterwards chooses the ministers and other agents of the government."

Much time was spent by the legislative bodies in settling matters of etiquette, to be observed under the new constitution, and providing for the exhibition of great parade and splendour at the first organization of the government under it. The consuls and conservative senate were to enter upon their functions on the 25th of December; the conservative senate, legislative body, and the tribune, were to be furnished with a guard of honour. The conservative senate had assigned them the palace of the Luxembourg; the consuls that of the Thuilleries; the legislative body was to occupy the palace of the council of five hundred, and the *palais royal* was assigned to the Tribune.

To increase the "pomp and circumstance" of official dignity, new dresses were ordered for the consular and legislative functionaries of the government. Open robes and close habits of national blue; of light blue, of black and of grey. Tri-coloured girdles, girdles of

light blue and of red; some without fringe, others fringed with gold, others with silk, others worsted. Collars and sleeves embroidered, some with gold, others with silver. Hats, some with gold, others with silver tassels. A decree was passed, establishing from such materials as these, different uniform dresses, by which the dignity and rank of the different functionaries of the new government were to be characterised. Even the messengers, ushers and valets connected with the different departments of the government had their appropriate costume assigned them. Such were the notions of *equality* and *republican simplicity*, after the progress and improvements of ten years in the revolution.

A long discussion took place as to the oath to be taken under the new constitution; the result of which was more honourable. Considering the constitution as the elementary rule of action, and as prescribing the primary duties of all affairs of the government and as citizens, it was decreed that all public functionaries, the ministers of religion of every sect, and the instructors of youth, should make the following declaration, and that every other oath and affirmation should be abolished: *"I promise to be faithful to the constitution."* This is the most simple and appropriate oath that can be prescribed.

Three days after the constitution was published, the troops were assembled in the Champ de Mars, and sworn to support the new government.

The Parisians, accustomed to change, and delighted with novelty, received the new constitution, and witnessed the splendour of the new government with complacency, but without any considerable excitement of interest; they read and talked, drank their coffee, and laughed as usual; reasoned but little, and thought less; but hoped every thing. Bonaparte was their idol, and they expected him to do great things for the happiness, honour and glory of the nation. They cracked their jokes upon the old directory, and indulged their humour in bon-mots and caricatures.

A couple of caricature prints adorned most of the parlours in Paris; one representing a Jew with the costume of the ex-directors and ex-legislators, crying "*old clothes to sell, as good as new*;" the other also representing a Jew carrying an enormous load of constitutions and laws, bawling, "*old constitutions and decrees to sell; very little used, and very cheap.*"

The following placard was posted up in the streets of Paris; the author of which, did not probably feel so much disposed to be merry at the progress which had been made in the science of liberty and equality, of which the nation had so long been in pursuit, and to secure which, they had made such immense sacrifices.

"POLITICAL SUBTRACTION, . . .

From 5 Directors . . .

Take 2, . . .

and there remain 3 Consuls :

From them take 2, . . .

and there remains 1 BONAPARTE ! . . .

Bonaparte having availed himself of the influence and cunning of Sieyes, in effecting a revolution which had thrown the whole executive power of the government into his own hands, and supposing that he might stand in the way of his ultimate objects, thought it best to dispose of him at the outset. The descendant of Levi was outwitted by the son of Mars; the wily priest by the crafty general, who was as well versed in the arts of hypocrisy and dissimulation, as the ex-priest, and possessed the additional advantages of his great military character, his influence with the soldiers, and a greater popularity with the people. Sieyes was prevailed on to decline the consulate. Cambaceres and Le Brun, were elected consuls with Bonaparte. The first, was at that time minister of justice; he was a member of the convention, and voted for the confinement and not for the death of the king; the latter was one of the members of the committee of ancients; he

had formerly been secretary to the chancellor Maupeou; the most arbitrary and tyrannical of the ministers of Louis XV. He was considered a man of talents and industry.

The retirement of Sieyes, was a memorable event in the French revolution, as since its commencement he had acted a conspicuous part, and at most periods exercised great influence over the executive power, which was now suddenly lost altogether.

A few days after entering upon the duties of their office, the consular executive, sent a message to the Legislative bodies, recommending it to them to decree to Citizen Sieyes, a distinguished proof of national gratitude; who, they say, "having enlightened the people by his writings, and honoured the revolution by his disinterested virtues, refused in the first instance the first magistracy, and then only consented to accept in consequence of his sense of the danger by which it was surrounded." "The consuls of the republic" continued the message in conformity to the law of the 19th Brumaire, submit to you the necessary and formal proposition of decreeing to citizen Sieyes, as a pledge of national gratitude, the right of property to one of the domains at the disposal of the state."

We will close this chapter with a brief notice of this extraordinary man.

Sieyes was born at Frejus in the year 1748, a town rendered famous from its being the place where Bonaparte landed on his return from Egypt and Elba. He was educated for the priesthood, and from the humble condition of a curate, he arose to be a vicar-general, a canon, chancellor of the church of Chartres, and finally to the important situation of counsellor commissary in Paris; an office of great dignity, and never given but to the superior clergy.

He was esteemed a learned civilian and canonist, and was a good belles-lettre, scholar; but his favourite studies were politics, metaphysics, and economics.—He was a distinguished member of the economical

society, and spent most of his time in Paris, with D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and the other literati.

He was elected to the states general, and first attracted attention as a politician, by a publication entitled, "What is the Tiers Etat," which for a considerable time was the most fashionable and popular book in Paris.

After the meeting of the states general at Versailles, Sieyes first proposed that they should call themselves "The Assembly of the Representatives of the French people;" and when the assembly became alarmed for their safety, he proposed that no troops should be allowed, to approach within ten leagues, of their sitting, and also an address to the king, desiring that he would order the troops to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Versailles.

At this time Sieyes, acted in concert with Mirabeau, La Clos, and others, and although a decided advocate for reform, was a zealous royalist; and in 1791, he actually published several papers in answer to the articles which appeared in a publication entitled "The Republican" conducted by Brissot, Condorcet, and the celebrated Thomas Paine.

The "Declaration of the Rights of Man," decreed by the national Assembly, was from his pen. He was chosen a member of the convention in 1792, and possessed great influence in that body; the momentous question, as to what punishment the king should suffer, was considered in a great measure as depending upon his opinion, as many members declined deciding until they heard the opinion of Sieyes. At length he ascended the tribune; a profound silence ensued; great anxiety pervaded the assembly, the fate of the king, being regarded as suspended upon the vote of Sieyes. He broke the solemn pause, with only five words: *Je suis pour la mort!* "I am for death!" and instantly withdrew.

Perceiving the gathering of a dreadful storm, at this time, he retired, and remained so perfectly concealed for more than two years, that it was not known

whether he was in the "land of the living" or not. After the death of Robespierre, and the overthrow of the mountain party, he still remained behind the curtain, until 1795, when he was fully assured that the violence of the storm, that desolated France, had passed by, and that the scattered clouds, although still lowering and angry, could not collect again into a tempest. On his emerging, he published memoirs of himself, the object of which was to apologize for his having absented himself from public concerns during so important a period, and to lament the perversion and abuse, which the jacobins and demagogues had made of his definitions of the rights of man, and his political writings.

CHAPTER IX.

State of France at the establishment of the Consular government.Its foreign relations....Operations of the war during the year 1799....The French unfortunate in all quarters....They lose nearly all Italy....Massena alone obtains some advantagesCritical condition of France....Bonaparte opens a negotiation with Austria and England for peace....It fails...he recalls the emigrants....restores order at home....his extraordinary exertions to prosecute the war....Plan of the campaign....Success of Moreau....The First Consul commences his march for Italy....Passing of mount St. Bernard....The French cross the Po, and attack the Austrians at Montebello....Both parties concentrate their forces near Alessandria....The great, obstinate, and decisive battle of Marengo....An armistice follows....The First Consul adopts measures for re-organizing the Italian Republics....Success of Moreau in Germany....Francis refuses to ratify the treaty, and hostilities are renewed....Victory of Hohenlinden....Peace of Luneville.

WE are now to consider Bonaparte, as entered upon a new theatre of action, as the supreme executive magistrate, and in a great degree as the ruler of a great nation. We have seen what he has done as an

instrument of power in the hands of others, we shall now witness what he was capable of doing when invested with power himself. If at the head of an army, he made all the Sovereigns of Europe tremble, it cannot be a matter of surprise that when wielding the resources of a great nation, he should crumble many of their thrones to dust.

Before entering upon his administration of the government of France, it may be proper to consider the internal and external condition of the country at this period.

Notwithstanding the internal contentions and bloodshed, and the immense drains which the foreign wars had occasioned since the commencement of the revolution, the population of France, does not appear to have undergone any diminution. A few years before the commencement of the revolution, the population of the nation was estimated by M. Necker, at 24,800,000, and who calculated that the births at that time, amounted to a million annually. The national Assembly before the commencement of the war, estimated the population of France, at 26,363,074; and the number to a square league, at 996; in the year six of the republic, the result of the *bureau de cadastre* gave a population of 26,048,254, and 1,020, to the square league; and in the year seven, the whole population of the republic was calculated at 33,501,094, of which 28,810,694, belonged to ancient France, making 1,101, to the square league.

But although the numerical population of the nation had not declined, yet it cannot be supposed but that the number of adult males was considerably reduced; although the aggregate capabilities of the nation, whether for industry or war, were not impaired, but undoubtedly considerably augmented. The strength and resources of a people do not depend wholly upon their numbers, but upon the activity and energy of their physical and moral powers. The revolution had agitated every fibre of the nation, and produced a development of muscular and intellectual capacity,

which had never before been exerted, and which created an aggregate energy that no one had ever supposed the nation possessed. There were various other causes growing out of the revolution, which tended to invigorate and enlarge the resources of France, and which enabled it to sustain the mighty convulsions and sacrifices, which it experienced, without impairing its strength, or drying up the sources, or diverting the streams of its wealth. The manufacturing interests it is true, had suffered considerably ; but agriculture was more flourishing, afforded employment to more persons, and subsistence to a much greater number of families than before the revolution. This was occasioned by the confiscation and sale of the domains of the nobility and clergy ; which had either been badly cultivated or not at all, a proportion of which consisted of parks and chases, the *sporting grounds* of " noble breeds." They were taken from the dominion of royal sportsmen, and delivered over to the dominion of the *plow*. From the immense quantity of lands thrown into market at the same time, they were sold at a low price, which enabled men of small property to become purchasers, and being extensively divided, the number of proprietors and small farmers was greatly increased.

The additional quantity of land thrown into cultivation tended on the one hand by increasing the demand, to raise the price of labour ; and on the other, by augmenting the quantity of agricultural products to reduce the price of living. The immense number of men which were drawn from the field of labour to that of war, and the great number of emigrants from the country, nearly all of whom were consumers and none producers, operated in conjunction with the above causes, and tended to produce the same result. The condition of the lower classes was greatly ameliorated ; whilst the means and cheapness of subsistence was increased, the price of labour was also raised. The improvement of the condition of the poorer classes, which enabled these to obtain a comfortable subsis-

tence, who had only sustained a precarious one; the increase and cheapness of food, and the augmentation of the value of labour, operated most powerfully to invigorate the labouring classes of the community, and to promote the increase of population amongst them.

The continental relations of France had undergone a great change since Bonaparte left there for Egypt. The absence of the terrific general, and the flower of the troops of the republic on another continent, exposed to an inhospitable climate, and a ferocious people, cut off from all communication with France, and without any apparent chance of returning, their fleet having been destroyed, and the British cruizers blockading the entire coast of Egypt, together with the effect of the great naval victory of Aboukir, had a powerful influence to revive the hopes of the enemies of the republic. British influence and British gold were both made use of to the greatest extent, to excite another coalition against France, and particularly to induce the Emperor of Austria to renew hostilities against the republic, notwithstanding the treaty of Campo Formio, and to draw the court of St. Petersburg into the coalition.

At the congress held at Radstadt, consisting of plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire, and those of the French republic, serious difficulties arose, which resulted in an open rupture; the ministers of the republic withdrew from the congress. The emperor Paul having succeeded to the throne, joined the coalition.

When hostilities were renewed in 1799, the French had about three hundred thousand men on the frontier; of which about forty-five thousand under Massena, occupied Switzerland and the left bank of the Rhine; sixty-five thousand under Jourdan, were stationed between Basle and Drusseldorf, called the army of Mentz; and a large army was in Italy. Operations were commenced by the French; general Jourdan advanced into Germany, and on the 27th of April, fought a pitched battle with the arch-duke Charles;

the contest was warm and obstinate, and the result long doubtful; but victory finally declared for the Austrians. Jourdan was compelled to retire from Germany; and the directory dismissed him from the army, and appointed Massena generalissimo of the whole forces of the republic on that frontier. Massena, with the army originally under his command, had advanced into the country of the Grissons, but in consequence of the retreat of Jourdan, was obliged to return to the left bank of the Rhine.

The forces of the republic in Italy consisted of about eighty thousand French, and fifty thousand Poles, Swiss and Italians. They were divided into two armies, one called the army of Italy, of about ninety thousand men, occupying Genoa, Piedmont, Milan, &c. commanded by Moreau; the other called the army of Naples, consisted of about forty thousand men, under the command of Macdonald, occupied the conquered parts of the territory of Naples and Rome. The allied troops in Italy were commanded by the celebrated Russian general Suwarrow. After various skilful movements, Moreau and Macdonald, attempting to form a junction, and Suwarrow, to defeat their schemes and compel them to an engagement before they could unite, a succession of actions were fought between Macdonald and Suwarrow, on the banks of the Trebia. After three days obstinate fighting, the French being considerably inferior in numbers, were defeated; and Macdonald being compelled to retreat, made great efforts to join Moreau, which he accomplished in the neighbourhood of Genoa, in the month of July. The united armies amounted to only about fifty thousand men. In the south, the republicans were equally disastrous. Cardinal Ruffo, aided by Nelson, re-conquered Naples and restored the king of the two Sicilies. The territories of Rome were also recovered; Nelson having sent capt. Trowbridge there with a small armament, the inhabitants rallied and compelled the republicans to evacuate the papal dominions.

In August, Moreau was removed to the command of

the army of the Rhine, and Joubert appointed to the command of the French forces in Italy. The confederates were at this time besieging Tortola, the last fortress possessed by the French in Piedmont. Joubert, desirous to relieve Tortola, and ascertaining that the Russian general would soon be reinforced by twenty thousand men, then on their march, determined to give him battle before the reinforcement should arrive. On the 15th of August, the republican general drew up his forces on the hills behind the town of Novi; and although his position was a strong one, Suwarrow marched to engage him the next morning at 5 o'clock. The French received the attack of the Imperialists with great firmness and intrepidity; three times they repulsed the assailants; at noon they felt confident of victory; but the enemy being reinforced with sixteen battalions of Austrians, which made such an impression on the right flank of the French, as threw them into confusion, and Joubert, in attempting to rally his men was mortally wounded. The fall of the republican commander decided the action, and that of the campaign. The French were greatly inferior in numbers to the allied troops. Piedmont was entirely recovered, and of all the conquests of Bonaparte in Italy, there remained now only the small territory of Genoa.

The success of the armies of the combined powers in Italy, enabled them to extend and invigorate their efforts against Massena, who was driven from the giscons; and the Austrians crossed the Rhine, drove the French from the strong position at St. Gothard, established themselves in Switzerland, and opened a line of communication with their forces and posts in Italy.

General Korsakow, with a large body of Russians arrived in Switzerland, and took the command of the confederates, the arch-duke Charles, with a considerable force, having gone to oppose the French, upon the upper Rhine, who had made an incursion into the empire under Moreau. After various movements and several sharp conflicts, an obstinate battle took place at Zurich, in which the Russians, although they

fought with all the ferocity and courage of northern bears, were completely defeated. Soon after, Suwarrow arrived in Switzerland ; but was greatly disappointed at the defeat and retreat of Korsakow, and chagrined at not receiving the co-operation from the Austrians, which he expected. He was obliged to act on the defence, and after various conflicts compelled to retreat across the Rhine.

General Champoinnet, was appointed to the command of the republican troops in Italy, which were reduced to about 25,000 men. He exerted himself in a skillful manner to maintain Genoa, against the Austrian forces commanded by general Melas, aided by the active co-operation of the British by sea. After various operations and several actions, the French general, having sustained a loss of more than 8000 men, was compelled to retreat ; and the city of Genoa, invested by land, and by sea, after a most determined defence by Massena, being assailed by famine within, as well as by numerous forces from without, capitulated upon honourable terms.

The Russian general Suwarrow, having withdrawn with his army, left the arch-duke Charles, in a critical situation, and enabled Massena to obtain considerable advantages on the Rhine. The last of these events took place during the winter, and early in the spring following Bonaparte's consulship, but before he had been able to reinforce the armies.

Such was the state of the war, and the continental relations of the republic at the close of the year 1799, when Bonaparte became first consul, and in the spring of 1800. With the exception of the army under Massena, the republican forces had every where been unfortunate ; and not only most of its extensive conquests had been lost, but the terror of the republican arms, had almost entirely subsided. It was found that the *French* were not invincible, ; it was *Bonaparte* alone that made them so.

The condition of France, when the consular gov-

ernment was established, and Bonaparte invested with the supreme executive authority, was inauspicious and critical; torn to pieces by factions within, and surrounded by enemies from without, their conquests and acquisitions lost, their armies defeated, and some destroyed, and their enemies become more numerous, and powerful, by the accession of the Emperor of Russia to the coalition. But the resources of the country, notwithstanding the great convulsions and sacrifices it had sustained, and the vast drains upon the population, the war had occasioned, were still immense, and Bonaparte knew how to develop and apply them. After the consular installation, which was attended with great pomp, and witnessed by an immense concourse of people, Bonaparte, on entering upon the administration of the government issued the following proclamation.

" LIBERTY !

EQUALITY !

" IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

" The 4th Nivose, (25th of December, 1799,) 8th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

" Bonaparte, first consul of the republic, to the French.

" To render the republic dear to the citizens, respectable to foreigners, and formidable to the enemy, such are the duties which we have contracted by accepting the first magistracy.

" The citizens will always cherish the republic, if the laws and the acts of authority are constantly distinguished by order, by justice, and by moderation.

" Without order, administration is but confusion; no revenue, no public credit, the resources of the state and private fortunes are lost.

" Without justice, there are nothing but factions, tyrants, and victims.

" Moderation stamps an august character upon governments and nations. It is always strong, and insures permanency to social institutions.

" The republic will be respected by foreigners if she respects their independence as well as her own; if her engagements, prepared by wisdom, and contracted with sincerity, are faithfully fulfilled.

"She will be formidable to the enemy, if her armies and her fleets are well disciplined and well commanded; if every soldier and every sailor lives as happy as in the bosom of his own family, with a constant succession of virtues and of glory; if every officer, instructed by a long application, is regularly promoted, as a reward for his talents and his services.

"On such principles depend the stability of government, the success of commerce and of agriculture; the greatness and prosperity of nations.

"According to such principles we shall be judged.

"Frenchman! we have told you our duties, it will be for you to tell us whether we have fulfilled them.

(Signed)

"BONAPARTE.

"By the first consul's command,

"BERNARD HUGUES MALET, secretary of state."

Although Bonaparte addressed the French people, yet knowing the prevalence of faction, and the disorganized state of society, it is evident he relied principally upon the army for the stability of the government, and the preservation of his power. Aware, how much the nation sighed for peace, the first consul commenced his administration, by a public avowal of his pacific intentions, and an attempt, at negotiation, whether sincere or not. As usual, in all wars there had been much cunning and craft made use of, by the hostile parties, each endeavouring to throw the blame of the continuance of the war upon the other. Bonaparte was sensible that the expression of a strong desire to terminate a war, which had occasioned such immense sacrifices, and an attempt to negotiate a peace, would be universally popular, and if not successful, would be the best expedient of reviving the spirit of the nation, and of restoring its energies for the prosecution of hostilities. Accordingly on the 31st of December he dispatched a messenger to Dover, with a letter from himself to the king of England, and the following note from Talleyrand to Lord Grenville, secretary for foreign affairs.

"MY LORD,

"I dispatch, by order of general Bonaparte, first consul of the French republic, a messenger to London; he is the bearer of a letter from the first consul of the French republic, to his majesty the king of England; I request you to give the necessary orders that he may be enabled to deliver it directly into your own hands."

"This step, in itself, announces the importance of its object."

"Accept, my lord, the assurance of my highest consideration."

(Signed)

"CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND."

"Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year of the

French republic, (Dec. 25, 1799.)"

He also opened a correspondence, proposing negotiation with the arch duke Charles, which was continued until he was succeeded in the command of the army, by general Kray. All prospect of peace having vanished, Bonaparte communicated the intelligence to the legislative body on the 7th of March, and expressed himself in terms of great indignation at the conduct of Great Britain.

"Frenchmen! you have been anxious for peace; your government has desired it with still greater ardour: its first steps, its most constant wishes, have been for its attainment. The English ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy: to dismember France, destroy its marine and its ports, strike it out from the chart of Europe, or lower it to the rank of secondary powers; to keep every nation on the continent divided from each other, in order to gain possession of the trade of the whole and enrich itself with their spoils; to obtain this horrible triumph it is that England scatters its gold, becomes prodigal of its promises, and multiplies its intrigues."

On receiving information of the death of general Washington, Bonaparte attempted to conciliate the feelings of Americans, which had been deeply wounded by the conduct of the directory; he ordered all the colours to be mounted with black crape, and all offi-

cers of the government to wear badges for ten days. He also attempted to conciliate the different European powers which had remained neutral.

Being desirous to conciliate as many of the enemies of the republic as possible, he issued a proclamation inviting the royalists, and all other emigrants to return to France, assuring them of protection and security; and great numbers both of royalists, and revolutionists who had been exiled by the different factions, or had fled for safety, came back accordingly. By these conciliatory measures he withdrew a considerable part of the hostile insurgents and emigrants from the confederacy against the republic. But all his efforts at conciliation, could not entirely overcome the hostility of disaffected individuals, either towards the republic or himself. He was obliged to employ force against the Chouans, who persisted in revolt; and a formidable conspiracy was formed against his life by royalists, jacobins and moderates, of ruined fortunes and disappointed ambition, whose only object was anarchy and pillage.

Having restored internal tranquility, Bonaparte devoted his attention to preparations for a vigorous prosecution of the war. He issued a proclamation in February, charging the continuance of hostilities to the British, and calling on the French to furnish supplies of men and money, for acquiring by force of arms, that peace, which the obstinacy of the British government had denied to negotiation.

The most active and vigorous efforts were made to raise new levies to reinforce the armies. A force of sixty thousand conscripts was collected at Dijon on the plains of Burgundy, to be commanded by the first consul himself; which was intended to afford assistance to Italy or Germany as occasion might require. Bonaparte had concerted the plan of the campaign with Moreau, according to which, though distant, their operations were to be conducted in concert on a large scale, with the same precision as the evolutions of the

two wings of an army. The object of Moreau was, by a series of movements and attacks, to occupy the attention of general Kray, to strike terror into the heart of Germany, alarm the Austrians for the safety of the capital, and at the same time keep open a communication, and send reinforcements to the French army in Italy, which, Bonaparte intended to make the theatre of offensive operations. Moreau executed that part of the plan assigned to him with his usual address. He penetrated into Germany, fought several battles with success, levied contributions upon Franconia and Suabia, interrupted the supplies and destroyed the magazines of the enemy, and by various movements and operations kept the Austrian general constantly employed in marches and counter marches, to counteract the supposed designs of the French.

In the meantime, the first consul himself resolved to march into Italy, once the field of his glory. The critical situation of Massena at Genoa hastened his march, but he was not enabled to afford him relief in season to prevent his capitulating. On the 15th of May his army reached mount St. Bernard, where the transportation of the artillery was apparently impracticable. But there are no obstacles which genius cannot overcome. The soldiers, inspired with enthusiasm by their renowned general, obedient to his orders without regarding difficulties, dismounted the cannon, placed them in troughs made of trees cut down for the purpose, which were drawn over the rugged ascent by five or six hundred men, according to their weight; the wheels of the carriages were fixed on poles and borne on the shoulders of the men; the axletrees, and tumbrils which were emptied, were placed on sledges constructed for the occasion. By these arrangements, the army, with a large train of artillery, and in the face of an opposing enemy passed the Alps in eleven days.

The vanguard of the army, having crossed the Po, attacked a corps of the Imperialists at Montebello, and defeated them with considerable loss.

THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF MARENGO.

The Austrians, apprised of the approach of Bonaparte marched with the main body of their forces from Genoa, and fixed their head quarters at Alessandria.

Bonaparte determined to give the enemy battle, and drew up his forces on a plain between Alessandria and Tortona ; they were formed in two lines ; the troops under Victor formed the centre, occupying the village of Marengo, and the left wing, extending to the river Bormida ; the corps of Lasnes formed the right wing ; both of the wings being supported by strong bodies of cavalry. General Desaix, who had been ordered to Scravalla, was instantly recalled, and directed with his division and a body of reserved cavalry to support general Victor. The Austrian line was extended more than three leagues, and possessed a strong position near the bridge. The action was commenced about 12 o'clock at noon, by the Austrian general Melas, who made a furious attack upon the French right. The vigour of the attack, and the great superiority in numbers of the Imperialists, made an impression that even the immovable firmness of the French could not withstand ; the left wing began to give way, and after sustaining with firmness an unequal conflict, nearly 2 hours, the right & centre followed the example ; several corps of infantry retired in disorder ; whole platoons of cavalry pushed back, and disorder & approaching confusion was evident through the whole line. The Austrians, perceiving the advantage, pressed forward with an impetuosity, which a confident expectation of victory alone could inspire. They expected every moment, the French would be routed, and redoubled their exertions to give a finishing stroke, to the action, which they considered no longer doubtful. The Austrian garrison of Tartola, perceiving the disorder of the French, sallied out and nearly surrounded them on all sides. At this dreadful crisis nothing but the astonishing genius of the first consul, could have saved the French from a total route ; undismayed by the impending danger, he advanced in front, passed rapidly from corps to corps, rallying those thrown into disorder,

exhorting and encouraging all. His presence suddenly reanimated the troops; and his horse guards leaving his person, took an active part in the bloody contest. Knowing that Desaix was near by, it was his grand object to prevent a route until he arrived. To secure a position more favourable for resisting the overpowering numbers of the enemy, he seized a defile flanked by the village of Marengo, shut up on one side by a wood, and on the other by lofty and bushy vineyards. Here, from the astonishing exertions of Bonaparte, they made a firm stand, and fought bayonet to bayonet, with the Austrian infantry; whilst exposed at the same time, to a battery of thirty pieces of cannon, which was playing upon them with the most tremendous effect. Every soldier seemed to consider this the defile of Thermopylæ, where they were to fight until all were slain; and with a heroism worthy of the Spartan band, they withstood the tremendous shock of bayonets and artillery, the latter of which not only cut the men in pieces, but likewise the trees, the large branches falling, killed the wounded soldiers who had sought a refuge under them.

The men were swept away like trees before a tornado; the dead and the dying covered almost the whole field and nearly blocked up the defile. At this awful moment, amidst warriors who fell on every side of him, the first consul, unmoved, seemed to brave death, and to be near it; the bullets being observed repeatedly to tear up the ground beneath his horses feet. Alarmed for his safety, the officers around him exhorted him to retire, exclaiming that "if he should be killed, all would be lost." Even Berthier addressed him to this effect. But the hero of Lodi and Arcola could not retire from the "field of death," which seemed his peculiar patrimony. Undismayed and unmoved amidst this dreadful tempest, he observed every movement, and gave his orders, with the utmost coolness.

General Victor exerted himself greatly to defend the village of Marengo, exposed by the retreat of gen.

Gardanne ; but the Austrians being reinforced, succeeded in carrying it. General Lannes being obliged to retire, Bonaparte hastening to his division to stop its retreating, exclaimed, " My lads it is my practice to *sleep* on the field of battle." He ordered several movements, to charge the enemy and stop the retreat ; but the force opposed to them was so overpowering, that even the presence of the first consul, could not check them ; they fell back, but in good order, although exposed to the fire of eighty pieces of cannon. So completely cut to pieces and broken was the French line, that at four o'clock, in an extent of five miles, there did not stand six thousand infantry to their colours, and only six pieces of cannon could be made use of ; this fact will not appear incredible, when it is known that actually one third of the army was put *hors de combat*, and another third was employed in removing the sick, wounded and killed, from the field ; this painful scene, also employed a large portion of the artillery carriages. Hunger, thirst and fatigue, drew many officers from the field, and some who thought that the best part of courage was prudence, availing themselves of the confusion which prevailed, absented themselves, at so unseasonable a conjuncture. At this period Desaix had not arrived, and it seemed impossible that the French could sustain themselves much longer. But a mistake of the enemy and the approach of the reinforcements at this period of gloom and despondency, almost instantly changed the aspect of things.

The Austrian general Melas, not being able to force the defile, and eager for victory, which he considered as certain, extended his line with a view to surround the French ; and their cavalry they had drawn up in the rear, the moment the French gave way, to fall upon their broken ranks and cut them to pieces. But Bonaparte perceiving this change of position, instantly discovered how it might be improved to advantage.

Just previous to this movement, the divisions of Desaix and Monnier, so anxiously expected, arrived at

full gallop, notwithstanding a forced march of thirty miles. Their appearance inspired the French troops, fatigued and disheartened, with new courage. Availing himself of these two favourable events, the weakening of the Austrian line, and the arrival of the reinforcements, Bonaparte with Berthier and the officers of his staff, ran through all the ranks, inspiring the soldiers with confidence, assuring them, reinforced as they were, that one more vigorous effort would decide the fate of the day. Encouraged by the appearance of Desaix's division, many soldiers of different corps who had left the ground, returned to the field of battle. Having thrown the troops into a strong column, to break the enemy's line, now weakened from its extension, and raised their ardor and impatience, the signal was given—the terrible *pas de charge* was heard. General Desaix, with his troops, fresh, and thirsting to avenge their slaughtered comrades, which everywhere covered the plain, threw himself with the utmost impetuosity into the midst of the Austrian battalions, and charging them with the bayonet, broke their line and threw them into disorder; general Doudet at the same time charged on the right, all the corps were put in motion at the same instant; their impetuosity was like a torrent swelled by a sudden freshet; they bore down all before them; in a moment the Imperialists were driven from the defile; soon their whole line was broken, and an entire route followed, attended with a dreadful slaughter.

The intrepid Desaix, in following up the victory, and at the very moment of complete triumph, having cut off the Austrian left wing entirely, was mortally wounded by a musket ball in the head. When the sad tidings of the fall of this heroic warrior, the very model of brave men, after having saved the army and perhaps his country, were received by Bonaparte during the heat of the engagement, which still continued, he exclaimed, "Why have I not time to weep?" The night saved the Austrian army from total destruction. The fruits of the victory, were twelve standards, twen-

six pieces of cannon, 7,000 prisoners ; seven generals, four hundred officers, and 8,000 men killed and wounded. The French lost general Desaix and the brother of general Watrin killed, 4 brigadier generals wounded, nearly 800 men killed, more than 2,000 wounded and 1,100 prisoners.

Thus ended this memorable battle, one of the most obstinate, persevering and skilful contests, which the history of man affords.

The darkness of the night deprived both parties of the means of taking care of the wounded, and a great number were left on the field. The morning presented the most heart-rending and horrid scene :—" More than three thousand," says a French officer, " Frenchmen and Austrians, heaped upon one another, in the yards, in the granaries, in the stables and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most lamentable cries, blended with the severest curses against the surgeons, there being too few to dress all the wounded at once. Every where I heard the voices of comrades, or of my particular friends, who begged of me something to eat or drink : all that I could do was to fetch them some water ! In truth, forgetting my own wants and those of my horse, I staid more than two hours, running backwards and forwards, performing, by turns, the part of a surgeon and an hospitable attendant.

Prisoners were brought in from every part, which increased the number of the famished : in short, this was a day that appeared of an insupportable length to all of us."

The French army contained from forty to forty-five thousand men, of which three thousand were cavalry, and it had from twenty-five to thirty pieces of cannon ; the Austrian army was estimated, including the reinforcements just received from Genoa, at from fifty-five to sixty-thousand men, of which from fifteen to eighteen thousand were cavalry, and it possessed more than four score pieces of cannon.

During the greater part of the action, the Austrians

felt confident of victory, and treated the French prisoners with great cruelty and insolence. The priests of Alessandria exulting at the success of the Austrians, ordered the bells to be rang, and raised shouts of victory and joy as the French prisoners were brought into the town; they insulted them with sneering and abusive language, and even had the baseness to strike the wounded and unfortunate who had not the means of defence. But these same men, two hours afterwards, fawned round the French and offered to shake hands with them.

So confident were the Austrians of victory, that they insultingly offered the French soldiers, to bargain for their caps before-hand; the legions of Bussy collected the caps of the French grenadiers, killed and wounded, and exhibiting them to the French line twirling round on their sabres, offered them "cheap for ready pay."

This was one of the most rapid and astonishing campaigns the world has ever witnessed. Bonaparte arrived at St. Bernard on the 15th of May, and from thence to the 15th of June, the day the great and decisive battle of Marengo was fought, a period of precisely one month, the power of Austria in Italy was destroyed; her immense armies annihilated or dispersed, and Italy re-conquered. The entire loss of the Imperialists during this short campaign, in killed, wounded and prisoners, including 1500 sick found in the hospitals, was not less than SIXTY THOUSAND MEN. Such an immense loss, so enfeebled their armies that the Austrian commander, perceiving it impossible to defend Italy, immediately applied for an armistice, which was granted by the first consul, on agreeing to a conditional convention which was to depend upon the ratification of the Emperor. The consul at the same time, sent an envoy offering peace upon moderate terms, considering the relative state of the belligerent parties; it was required that the Imperial army should retire within the line established by the treaty of Campo Formio; the Austrians were to occupy the north east corner of Italy, bounded by the Po on the

south, and the Mincio on the west. Tuscany was to be a neutral state. Whether this convention was ratified or not, the armistice was not to be broken without ten days notice.

Italy being re-conquered, the first consul turned his attention to arrange its political condition. Lombardy and Laguiria, instead of two were to form one powerful republic. A provisional administration was established, and also a *consult*, for framing for the republic a constitution, and organising the government. He gave orders for respecting religion, and the property of all citizens without distinction; those who had fled were invited to return, with the exception of those who had taken up arms against the Cisalpine republic after the treaty of Campo Formio.

These important arrangements were made with such rapidity, that the first consul arrived at Lyons on the 28th of June, having reviewed the troops at several places on his rout, and was received in that celebrated city by the prefect, civil and military officers and citizens, with universal admiration and applause.

In the mean time Moreau advanced into Germany, and crossed the Danube, although defended by an immense body of Austrians on the opposite bank. This was effected by a masterly expedient; eighty soldiers having swam across the river unobserved, their knapsacks and muskets conveyed in boats, secured the opposite bank, took possession of the villages of Grensheim and Blenheim, seized several cannon, and covering the remains of the bridges which the Austrians had destroyed, and placing ladders upon them, other men were conducted over, until their numbers became such that they were able to maintain their position.

Having passed this formidable barrier, Moreau penetrated into Bavaria, levied contributions, and so alarmed the Emperor by his bold and rapid movements, that he sued for an armistice, which was granted on the 14th of July. In the course of the same month, the envoy from the Emperor at Paris, signed preliminaries of a treaty of peace on the basis of that

of Campo Formio ; but Francis in the mean time, having received a subsidy of two millions from Britain, refused to ratify the treaty, unless that power was included in the peace. This occasioned a rupture, as Bonaparte insisted on a separate treaty, and hostilities were resumed. The emperor of Austria applied for the extension of the armistice, which he could only obtain at the price of the surrender of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, with their dependant forts. The armistice, which was limited to forty-five days, having expired, hostilities were recommenced. Encouraged by several partial advantages, the archduke John, who commanded the Imperial army, ventured to make a general assault upon the French line at Hohenlinden on the 3d December. The contest was obstinate and sanguinary ; a division of the republican troops *debouched* upon the left wing and centre of the Austrians, with irresistible force, broke their line, reached the great road, and assaulted the left flank and rear of the imperial column. The Austrians with their usual firmness maintained the conflict for several hours, but were at length broken by the impetuosity of the French, thrown into irretrievable confusion, and entirely defeated, with the loss of fifteen thousand men killed or taken prisoners. The battle of Hohenlinden was decisive of the contest ; and the emperor finding it impossible to oppose the rapid career of the victorious French, renewed the negotiation, and being released from his engagements to Great Britain, it terminated in the peace of Luneville.

Thus, in one year, the wonderful genius of Bonaparte, retrieved the affairs of France, and restored the glory of the French arms, in all quarters ; reconquered Italy and all their former acquisitions, which had been lost, dissolved the coalition, humbled the Emperor of Austria, and obtained peace, with all the enemies of the Republic, except Great Britain, who remained alone in the dreadful struggle.

CHAPTER X.

The emperor Paul becomes dissatisfied with Great Britain.... Dispute between Denmark and England as to the right of search.... Maritime confederacy formed in the north in defence of neutral rights.... The first consul charges Great Britain with attempting to establish a universal maritime dominion.... Power of France.... She makes great preparation and threatens to invade England.... Alarm in that country.... Affairs in Egypt resumed.... A convention concluded.... The English government refuse to ratify it.... Great victory near Heliopolis.... Kleber assassinated.... His great worth.... Menou succeeds to the command.... His ridiculous conduct.... British expedition arrives in the Mediterranean.... The troops land, and are attacked by the French near Alexandria.... The latter are defeated.... English march to Cairo.... The garrison surrenders.... Alexandria besieged, capitulates, and the French troops are surrendered.... Treaty of peace concluded between Great Britain and France.

ALL the enemies of France being removed except Great Britain, the republic exerted all its power and diplomatic influence and intrigue, to turn the tables upon England, and to form a combination against that power which had been the soul of all the coalitions formed against France. The autocrat, Paul, had become disgusted with the coalition and the allies at the close of the campaign of 1799, considering that his soldiers had fought the battles, and that the Austrians had possessed themselves not only of all the political advantages of the victories of the allies, but of all the glory; his enmity to England, which had been growing for some time, was inflamed to the highest pitch by the capture of Malta, without its being ceded to him as Grand Master.

A dispute had also arisen between Great Britain and Denmark, relative to the old maritime question as to the right of search; the British having exercised this right upon a fleet of merchantmen under convoy of a Danish frigate.

Bonaparte, aware of the unfriendly dispositions of Paul towards Great Britain, knowing his capricious character, and being acquainted with the maritime dispute between Denmark and England, determined

to avail himself of these circumstances; and to turn them to good account in promoting his schemes of hostility against Great Britain. He formed the plan of the northern maritime confederacy, and humoring the whims, and flattering the pride of Paul, he persuaded him to approve the scheme; and from his influence, Denmark and Sweden were induced to join, and a formidable maritime confederacy was formed in the north for the defence of neutral rights, upon the same basis, and for the same object as the armed neutrality, formed by Holland and the northern powers against Great Britain during the American revolutionary war. Paul immediately laid an embargo on the British shipping in his ports; a long discussion ensued between Great Britain and the northern powers as to maritime rights, which resulted in nothing, leaving the parties where it found them, and each side in their own opinion having the better of the argument. The confederates contended for the principles that the right of search should be restricted to merchant vessels not under convoy of national ships, seizures confined to contraband articles, and that the flag should protect the goods on board,—and that free and neutral bottoms made free and neutral goods. The king of Prussia afterwards favoured the maritime confederacy, Bonaparte having sent his brother Louis as minister to the court of Berlin.

In his messages to the Legislative bodies, the first consul constantly charged England with prolonging the war: "Why is it," said he, "that the treaty of Luneville is not a general pacification? this was the wish of France, this was the constant object of the efforts of its government." He also charged Great Britain with attempting to establish a universal maritime dominion, and of advancing pretensions contrary to the rights and dignity of all nations; talked much about the liberty of the seas, free trade, and declared that France would avenge the injuries common to all nations, and contend only for the peace and happiness of the world. These sentiments were reiterated by the

constituted authorities, and the press laboured incessantly in the same cause.

About this time the consular government signified their intention of putting down the maritime pretensions of England, incompatible with the rights of other nations, in a novel and curious manner. The National Institute of France presented a quantity of books, magnificently bound, to the Royal Society of London; accompanying which, was a complimentary letter, signed "*Bonaparte, President of the National Institute, and First Consul of France.*" On this letter was an elegantly executed vignette, representing the Genius of *Liberty* sailing on the open ocean in a shell, with the following motto :

"LIBERTE DE MER."

France, at this period, (1801) was immensely powerful, the general pacification gave the government a vast disposable force, and she was greatly strengthened by her allies. Active preparations on a scale of great magnitude were made for invading England. An immense number of troops were collected at Amiens, Bologne, and other places, called, 'the chosen army.' The building of ships and other operations for a vast armament, went on rapidly, not only upon the coasts of France, but of Holland.

Aided by the Spanish and Dutch, the French government commanded a powerful marine; the combined fleets of France and Spain that lay in the harbour of Brest alone, amounted to fifty-two sail of the line. The whole sea-coast was divided into six maritime prefectures, in each of which a prefect was appointed; and not only ships, but gun-boats, and flat-bottom boats, were built and equipped, throughout the Dutch and Flemish coast, as well as that of France, and redoubts were erected and furnaces prepared for heating balls in places supposed to be most liable to attack by the British.

In England, great alarm prevailed; corps of volunteers were formed in almost every town and village in the kingdom; the mechanic threw aside his tools, and shouldered his musket; military parades and reviews

were to be seen in every direction, and the whole country exhibited a warlike appearance. The fleet from the Baltic returned, and their naval force became so extensive and formidable as to blockade the whole coast of France. Attempts were made to destroy the French gun-boats; an expedition was fitted out, under the command of Lord Nelson against Dunkirk and Bologne, which sustained a heavy loss and accomplished nothing important.

We will now return to Egypt. When Bonaparte left there, near the close of the year 1799, he had made overtures for a pacification with the Ottomans, and the negotiation being continued by Kleber, who was left in command, a convention was concluded in January, 1800, by which the French were to evacuate Egypt. This was agreed to by Sir Sydney Smith, notwithstanding which, Lord Keith, commanding the English fleet in the Mediterranean, received orders from the British ministry, not to ratify the convention, and to capture all French vessels returning to France. In consequence of the treaty, the French had delivered up several posts, and the grand vizir demanded the surrender of Cairo. This was refused by Kleber, on the ground that the English had refused to ratify the convention, which he considered as at an end, and signified his intention of renewing the war. Both parties were engaged in preparation until the 20th of March, when a great battle was fought near Heliopolis. In this engagement, the French troops, consisting of fifteen thousand men defeated 80,000 Mussulmen. The conflict was dreadful, and the slaughter immense; more than 8000 men were killed, besides the wounded and prisoners. After this decisive action the negotiation was renewed, the British government representing that they were not apprised that the convention had been agreed to by Sir Sydney Smith, when they ordered admiral Keith to disregard it, and professing their willingness to ratify it. But before the negotiation was brought to a conclusion, Kleber was cruelly assassinated by a Turkish aga. This was an irreparable misfortune to the French army in

Egypt, and perhaps to France. Kleber was the best of the French generals; he possessed a noble and magnanimous soul. As a commander, he was only inferior to Bonaparte; but in patriotism, integrity, humanity, and every virtue which characterises real greatness, he was vastly his superior. He was also more endeared to the soldiers than Bonaparte; the latter they admired and feared as a commander, but Kleber they loved and revered as a father. He highly disapproved of the conduct of Bonaparte in Egypt, but from their critical situation, suppressed his sentiments, and used all his influence to sooth the feelings, and silence the murmurs of the soldiers. He had also been personally treated with great insolence and indignity by Bonaparte, in consequence of his having, in a note, the object of which was, to heal some differences that had existed between them, addressed him by the familiar and fraternal appellation of "*Comrade! Comrade!*" He was indignant, not only at his own injuries, but at the unprincipled conduct and the ambitious designs of Bonaparte, and had determined to have ample satisfaction on his imperious rival; he had fixed his determination and passed his word to redress his own and his country's wrongs, on his return to France; nor would the exaltation of Bonaparte, whom he did not fear, have shaken his purpose, or deterred him from his object. It was equally fortunate for Bonaparte as it was unfortunate for his country, that his valuable life was taken away by the hand of an assassin. Some time afterwards, his funeral was celebrated by the whole army in conjunction with that of general Desaix, with great solemnity. It was not a mere formal parade with unmeaning sound of muffled drums, but a gloomy scene of mourning; the deepest grief agitated every heart; as the coffin passed, every soldier felt as though it contained the remains of his own father; for after the desertion of Bonaparte, Kleber was regarded as the common father of the army.

The death of Kleber placed the army under the command of Menou, a man of capricious and narrow

mind, and though not destitute of courage and capacity as a soldier, he was entirely unfit for the important and responsible situation in which fortune had placed him. He broke off the negotiation, and determined to hold possession of Egypt. Subsequently, he turned Mahometan, married an Egyptian woman, and assumed the name of Abdallah I Menou, which he signed to all his official papers.

The prospect of the evacuation of Egypt by the French, as the result of negociation, having vanished, the British determined to dispossess them of a settlement, not only important in itself, but which opened a way to hostile designs against their East India possessions. Accordingly, near the close of the year 1800, an expedition was sent into the Mediterranean, the fleet commanded by lord Keith, and the army by Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

The fleet, consisting of about one hundred and seventy sail of all descriptions, moored in the bay of Aboukir on the 2d of March 1801, occupying the very ground where Nelson fought the great battle of the Nile. The troops effected a landing, although vigorously opposed by the French. General Menou, apprised of the appearance of the British, hastened from Cairo, and concentrated his whole force at Alexandria. On the 21st, at half past three o'clock in the morning, the French commenced an attack upon the British; a most obstinate conflict ensued; the combatants on both sides fought with the greatest fury. Until the appearance of day-light, the French had the advantage, when they were overpowered, repulsed on all sides with great loss, and compelled to retreat. The British general was mortally wounded, and general Hutchinson succeeded to the command. Being unable to reduce Alexandria, Hutchinson penetrated into the interior, traversed the desert, reached Cairo, and prepared for investing it; but the garrison, sensible of their inability to defend it, capitulated; being permitted to be conveyed to France with all their artillery, and baggage; the scientific men were permitted to retain their papers and collections.

Menou still held out in Alexandria, confidently expecting a reinforcement, which the vigilance of lord Keith rendered impracticable. On the 15th of August, Hutchinson invested that city on the eastern and western front; while admiral Keith co-operated from the north with his fleet, and on the south with the gunboats that were assembled on lake Mæotis, so that the town was completely surrounded. General Menou, perceiving no prospect of succor, and considering further resistance unavailing, on the 26th offered to capitulate, on the same terms granted to Belliard, at Cairo, which were acceded to. Thus ended the grand expedition to Egypt. Previous to this, a negotiation had been opened between the two governments. Egypt had interposed the greatest obstacle to a pacification, Bonaparte being determined to retain it: but this difficulty became less serious as the prospect of retaining that country became less favourable, and the 2d of October announced the conclusion of a treaty of peace between Great Britain and the French Republic. With such secrecy were the negotiations conducted, that the preceding day, this event was not remotely expected. The tidings flew upon the wings of the wind, and excited the most inconceivable transports of joy throughout both countries.

This year, (1801) being the second of Bonaparte's consulship, he closed by a grand *expose* of the internal and external condition of the republic.

"It is with pleasing satisfaction," he observes "that the government offers to the nation the picture of the state of France, during the year that has passed over. Every thing at home and abroad has assumed a new appearance, and whatever way we cast our eyes, a long perspective of hope and happiness opens upon us."

CHAPTER XI.

Power of France....Change of the government....Peace of Amiens....Mr. Fox....Various anecdotes and incidents in the life of Bonaparte....Expedition to St. Domingo....It fails....Re-establishment of the Catholic religion....A conspiracy....Change of Ministry in England....Bonaparte created Emperor....Another coalition formed against France....Bonaparte writes a letter to the King of England....His Address to the Senate....Leaves Paris and puts himself at the head of the army....Commencement of hostilities....Action at Ulm....The Archduke Charles arrives from Italy....Austrians reinforced by the Russians....The great battle of Austerlitz....The Treaty of Presburg....Bonaparte returns to Paris....Mr. Fox and his friends come into power in England....A negociation opened....Broken off....Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of the two Sicilies....Confederation of the Rhine....War with Prussia....The Prussians defeated at Jena with great loss....The French enter Berlin....Action at Pultusk.

THE year 1802 dawned most auspiciously upon France. After a struggle of ten years, against nearly all Europe, attended with immense sacrifices, the republic found itself, enjoying peace with all the world; tranquil comparatively within; its power immense; its territory extended; its armies returning home; crowned with victories, and covered with glory.

But it was not however, a period of universal exultation or joy; there was many, and those comprising the most of the enlightened and best patriots of France, who, whilst they rejoiced at the return of peace, and the maintainance of the independence and power of the nation, felt little inclined to exult at the overthrow of the enemies of the republic, by means which had overthrown the republic itself. They considered that the principal object of the revolution, the establishment of a free representative government, and for the accomplishment of which, the nation had toiled and bled so freely, was lost forever.

The establishment of the consular government, was in itself an abandonment of the great principles of the revolution; but Bonaparte not satisfied with the power which the constitution had vested in him, almost immediately, became arbitrary in his conduct, and

gradually moulded the government into a military despotism. The great defect in the preceding constitutions, had been, the weakness of the executive ; but to remedy this defect, they destroyed the whole system ; in the consular government the Executive was so strong, that it swallowed up the other branches. Instead of the executive being only the organ and instrument of the legislative will, the legislative bodies became the submissive and humble instruments of the will of the Executive. The constitution had virtually destroyed the representative principle, as the Executive must necessarily have had an influence, over the Legislature, both in its creation and its acts, wholly incompatible with any just idea of Legislative power, as a separate, distinct, independent, and co-ordinate branch of government. Yet still had a different man been placed in the executive department, the Legislature might have possessed some authority, which would in some measure have afforded, a balance and countervailing influence to the executive power.

But the moment the executive sword was placed in the hands of BONAPARTE, all balance in the government was destroyed. Being the idol of the army, they instantly became entirely devoted to him ; and having thus the entire controul of the national sword, with that he commanded the national purse, which united, constituted absolute power.

The numerous and formidable enemies of the republic, and the critical situation of the country, tended powerfully to favour the views and strengthen the power of the first consul. The country being in imminent danger, the dictates of patriotism urged the best and most patriotic citizens, to join the army, and all who became attached to the army, were not only led to obey the authority, but to admire the genius of Bonaparte ; and as their hopes of preferment rested entirely upon him, they all became his partizans.— The success of his military operations, and vanquishing of the formidable enemies of France, which removed all apprehensions for its independence, and safety, tended to render him almost universally popular with

the people, and his splendid and unequalled victories, enshrouded his name in a blaze of glory, which excited the admiration, and flattered the pride and vanity of all Frenchmen.

But although the power of Bonaparte had become in a great degree absolute, he did not act the part of a tyrant. He only wished to govern the nation in his own way ; but he aimed at the greatness and glory of France ; most of his objects were exalted and noble, but his means were arbitrary and often oppressive. It is admitted on all hands, that he did much for France ; he promoted her agriculture, revived and invigorated her manufactures, but in his restrictive warfare upon England, he injured her foreign commerce. He promoted internal improvements and great national works ; patronized the arts and sciences, reformed the civil code, corrected many abuses, and provided for the education of youth. Had his views been confined to making France great, prosperous, and powerful, it would have been well for him and his country ; but his scheme of universal dominion proved ruinous to both.

The definitive articles of the treaty of Amiens were signed the 22d of March 1802. During the short peace which followed, thousands of Englishmen flocked to Paris. Among others was the celebrated Mr. Fox, who had been the leader of the opposition in England, and the zealous advocate for peace with the French Republic. He was received with great attention ; soon after his arrival he sent his compliments to the first consul, and requested to know when he might wait upon him, and received for answer, " that he should be happy to see such a man as Mr. Fox at any hour of the day or night he might choose to appoint." This English patriot as he was called, had frequent interviews with Bonaparte ; in one of which the consul remarked " that there was in the world but two nations, the one inhabiting the East, the other the West. The English, French, Germans, Italians, &c. under the same civil code, having the same manners, the same habits, and almost the same religion, are all members of the same family, and the men who wish

to light up the flame of war among them, wish for civil war." "These principles, Sir," continued he, "were developed in your speeches with an energy that does as much honour to your heart as your head."

The English fashionables, who visited Paris during this period, returned with their heads full of anecdotes of the First Consul, some of which we will introduce here :

The following is considered as an evidence that Bonaparte at an early period intended to establish a military government. After the overthrow of the Directory, and the provisional appointment of Bonaparte as one of the Consuls, he was asked where he intended to reside, the Directors having occupied the palace of the Luxembourg. Bonaparte replied, "At the palace of the *Thuileries*, it is a good *military post*."

Some one in the presence of Bonaparte, having suggested that the English were far behind the French, in understanding the true principles of liberty ; "it would be well for France" replied the consul, "if it enjoyed but one tenth part of English freedom."

The authenticity of this may justly be doubted.

Music being the subject of conversation, Bonaparte remarked "it is so simple in its principles that no man can be ignorant of it, who understands the mathematics ; it is the most monotonous of studies, for it has not greater variations than may be found in different angles, obtuse and acute."

"Fouche was the protector of the republicans, and, while defending their cause, the chief consul, one day, answered him, with some asperity, "The republicans do not love me !" "True!" replied Fouche ; "they say you are the high-priest of superstition ; however they remain quiet. But how do the emigrants, the royalists, and the priests, whom you protect, act?" Fouche then (taking various papers out of his pocket, which contained proofs of the evil intentions of the parties he had named) added : "Look here ! and here ! and here ! These papers will afford you sufficient information."

Immediately, or at least soon after this conversation, Fouché addressed a paper to the prefect of Brussels, and, I believe, to other prefects ; which appeared in the journals, and might be called, a philippic against the priests : it accused them of turbulence, intolerance, and practices unworthy of the morality of the gospel ; and required, that such conduct should be reproved, and, in future, prevented. This paper was no less offensive to one party than flattering to the hopes of the other. The *concordat* was then first in contemplation, and the republicans would not suffer themselves to believe that the country was again to be taxed for the purposes of a state religion : Bonaparte was of a different opinion ; and it is asserted, that Fouché was reprimanded with marks of considerable dissatisfaction, and silence imposed upon him.—The viceroy must not govern the king.

The Italians will never pardon France for having deprived their country of its noblest works of art : this is the only sacrilege of which, in general, they complain.

The great Canova, a man who, as a statuary, is perhaps but little inferior to the ancients, was sent for by Bonaparte, to take his bust. The artist was of no party in politics ; devoting his life to the studies in which he delighted, and on which his thoughts were intense, he paid little attention to the fate of empires : to rob Rome, however, of the statues, which were so lately her boast, and afforded the models on which he formed his taste, was a crime he could never forgive : he openly acknowledged his dislike to the chief consul, rejected all offers made him to reside at Paris ; and, while modelling Bonaparte, frankly told him he was surprised to find himself in that place, and so employed !

This is in favour of the consul ; it appears that there were talents the dignity of which he respected.

Volney had believed in the virtue of Bonaparte, had been his friend, and admitted to his familiarity ; and, being a sincere lover of freedom himself, he continued its defender. Not sufficiently aware of the

effects that the exercise of power had produced, that remonstrance was become offensive, and difference of opinion an insult; he was, one day, endeavouring to convince the chief consul of the mischief he would do to mankind by again conferring power on the priesthood, by admitting the smallest of its once usurped claims, and burthening people, who were of a different creed, with a general and unjust tax.

Bonaparte replied, "Why do you mention the people? I do but act, in this business, according to their desire: a large majority of the people wish for the re-establishment of the church."

Forgetful of the possibility, or, perhaps, not suspecting that the truth, which instantly occurred to his mind, should so deeply wound the pride of a man whose supremacy was so recent, Volney answered, "Were you to act according to the will of the majority you must immediately cede your power: the majority of the people would vote for the return of the Bourbons."

The rage of the chief consul was ungovernable: the common report is, that he instantly struck Volney, and ordered him from his presence: since which he has never again entered the palace of the Tuilleries.

Concerning the religious opinions of Bonaparte, no man, it is said, could form any decisive judgment: from his different discourse, he might at one moment have been imagined an infidel, at another a deist, and the next, perhaps, a christian! To Monge, an avowed infidel, who was expressing his disbelief of eternal punishments, Bonaparte said, (after reciting the names of various great men who had believed in the christian religion, and examples of others, who, in their last moments, had changed their opinions from fear,) that he, Monge, would certainly die a true believer.

He appeared to be rather a fatalist than a necessarian: for he believed, or affected to believe, in his favourable destiny.

On Easter Sunday, 1802, the farce of the *Concordat* was performed. Bonaparte entered the church of *Notre Dame*: he descended the isle, surrounded by

attendants, with his hat off; the sallowness of his complexion was overpowered by the emotions of thought; there was colour in his face; a gentle inclination to smile rendered his mouth pleasant; his aspect was gracious; his forehead large and open.

After this pretended solemnization of the *Concordat*, he asked one of the generals who attended him, what he thought of the ceremony: to which the general sarcastically replied, *C'etoit une vraie capucinade*—"It was a true farce."

Bonaparte appeared not to notice this sneer, and the same general was imprudent enough to venture another, a few days afterwards, on the same subject: Bonaparte regarded him with one of those frowns of terror, which, it is said, he could so effectually put on: and the general fell into disgrace.

The military were the only men who could take the least liberty with him. It is said that Moreau was invited to be present at *Notre Dame*, to assist at the consecration of the colours, and to dine with Bonaparte: to which he answered: "Of your three invitations, general, I shall only accept one; I will dine with you; but I will neither go to *Notre Dame*, nor consecrate colours."

In the plot to assassinate Bonaparte, (of which we shall shortly have to make mention,) there were persons who insinuated that Moreau had taken a part.—It is said that Bonaparte sent for him, and told him, "I have heard you have joined assassins; I give no credit to any such tale: I know you to be incapable of a base action: but, such is the effervescence of mind among the military, that you will greatly oblige me if you will pass two or three days at your country house."

With this request Moreau willingly complied, but carefully returned on the third day, that no misconstruction, by any party, might be put on his conduct.

When general Richepanse returned to Paris, he went to the levee of Bonaparte and there presented himself: he was taken no notice of, a side glance from the chief consul excepted, who continued his conver-

sation with another general: Richepanse made a second attempt, and met the same reception. Highly offended, Richepanse, then, in a louder tone, said: "Citizen General! when you are at leisure—" On which Bonaparte turned round, as if in reply to a troublesome person, and asked, "What do you want, sir? who are you? what is your name?" Richepanse as instantly put his hand to his sword, and answered: "My name, citizen consul! is Richepanse; a name, which, if forgotten by you, has the honour of being known to all Europe." Bonaparte, on this, recollected himself: and, with that affability he can so readily assume, made a gracious apology for absence of mind, treated Richepanse, afterwards, with distinction, and soon appointed him commander of Guadaloupe.

There appeared to be a great antipathy in Bonaparte to whatever reminded him of the Bourbon family. A man had been proposed to him to serve as his head huntsman, and was highly praised for the knowledge that fitted him for such an employment. When he came to be examined, Bonaparte demanded of him upon what grounds he formed his superior claims as a huntsman. The man with a very imprudent pride, answered, he had many years served in the same capacity, his royal master, Louis XVI.! Bonaparte gave the man a look and turned his back."

Bonaparte attempted to check and discountenance that inordinate fondness for shew, parade and ostentatious displays, which every where prevails, and in an eminent degree among the French; he discouraged public feasts, shows and entertainments; and even as to the theatre, he set his face against such pieces as were of a loose and frivolous nature, and encouraged those that were of a grave, moral, and dignified cast. His own deportment and way of living, was characterized by plainness and simplicity; always avoiding all pageantry, and all unnecessary display.

Bonaparte seldom appeared with more real magnanimity, than on the occasion we are about to notice. The magistrates and citizens of Paris, having passed a

resolution to erect a triumphal portico, in honour of him, at an expense of 600,000 livres. Having acquainted Bonaparte with the fact, he returned the following answer :

“ CITIZENS,

“ I have seen, with gratitude, the sentiments which animate the magistrates of the city of Paris. The idea of dedicating monuments to men who render themselves useful to the people, is honourable to nations. I accept the offer of the monument which you wish to erect to me ; let the place be determined, but leave to future ages the care of constructing it ; if they should ratify the good opinion which you entertain of me.

“ I salute you affectionately,

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.”

Near the close of the month of January, this year, (1802) Bonaparte went to Lyons to meet the *Consulta*, which he had constituted for establishing a government for the Cisalpine republic. The object of his visit was as usual, effected in a few days, and he returned to Paris.

Being at peace with all Europe, the first consul made an attempt to recover the Island of St. Domingo, which had been in a state of the most dreadful civil war, since 1795. Two rebel chiefs, Toussaint and Dessalines, had risen to great authority, and had a considerable force of blacks under their command.

An expedition, consisting of a fleet, and a considerable body of troops, commanded by general Leclerc, was fitted out to reduce the black rebels, as they were called. The blacks were at first beaten and dispersed in all directions, filled with terror, and nearly driven to starvation. The rebel chiefs surrendered themselves up, on assurance of pardon ; notwithstanding which, however, Toussaint and his family were seized, put on board of a frigate and sent to France. This step filled the blacks with alarm and indignation, and revived extensively the spirit of revolt. Christophe and Dessalines expecting the same treatment, fled and rallied the blacks in all quarters. But the climate

waged the most destructive warfare against the French; the mortality amongst the troops was beyond all example; Leclerc himself fell a victim to the desolating pestilence, which produced such dreadful ravages that the object of the expedition was obliged to be abandoned.

The most important internal regulations of the consul during the peace was the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, by the conclusion of a *concordat*, between him and the Pope; a measure which gave great offence to the republicans, and all the enlightened liberal men in France, and was directly in the teeth of one of the principal objects of the long struggle the nation had sustained. This was followed by another measure perhaps equally extraordinary; which was his procuring himself to be appointed Consul during life with the power of nominating his successor. This important measure met with no opposition but from Carnot, who made a powerful and energetic speech on the occasion.

In February, 1803, the Paris papers announced the discovery of a conspiracy of the most extensive and complicated nature. It was said that one hundred and fifty men, who were to assume the uniform of the consular guards, were to assemble and seize Bonaparte at Malmaison, where he was expected to be hunting, or wherever else he might be found, and carry him off. One of the conspirators disclosed the plot, and the sign of the conspirators, which was an English piece of gold. According to the information given, the police officers repaired to the mistress of an inn, and ordering her to draw off her glove, discovered a similar piece of English gold, and opening a draw they found a letter directing her to carry on a specified day to a certain house, twenty bottles of wine, and to ring a certain number of times at the door. The officers went to the house, and having rang as specified, they discovered a number of persons who defended themselves in a most desperate manner. Among those arrested were Mairn an intimate of Georges the Vendean royalist, and one Victor, the cook of Georges, who had been in a former

plot. General Moreau was charged with being in the plot and arrested.

The subject was laid before the legislative authorities, which appointed Regnier grand judge, who in his report stated that a band of assassins headed by Georges, and in the pay of England, were still dispersed in La Vendee, and that papers were found which criminated Moreau and Pichegru. When this report was read in the tribune, general Moreau's brother made an energetic and indignant speech, declaring the whole an infamous calumny, and demanding that his brother might be instantly brought to trial.

The senate transmitted an address to Bonapare, congratulating him on his escape from so deep a plot. In his answer he has the following remarkable sentence, which may be considered as prophetic : " I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life ; all my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which *my fate*, and the will of the French people have imposed on me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm ; my life will last as long as it will be useful to the nation : but I wish the French people to understand that existence, without their confidence and affection, would be to me without consolation, and would, for them, have no object."

In March, Bonaparte receiving information that a number of hostile emigrants said to be in the pay of England, were at Ettingheim within the Electorate of Baden, he dispatched Caulincourt, his aid-de-camp, who succeeded in arresting fifteen of them, of whom, the duke d'Enghien, one of the royal family of France was one. The royal prisoner was conducted to Paris by an escort of fifty *gens d'armes*, where he was tried by a military commission, condemned and shot.

In the early part of the year 1804, the war party in England, becoming again lords of the ascendant, Mr. Addington was driven from the administration, and Mr. Pitt, was once more made prime minister ; lord St. Vincent was displaced from the admiralty, to

make room for Lord Melville, the well known Mr. Dundas.

Whilst these political changes were taking place in London, still greater were transpiring at Paris.

Bonaparte not satisfied with possessing all the authority and power of absolute sovereignty, wanted to possess the *name* also. On the 5th of May, the tribune exercising as they said, the power given them by the 29th article of the constitution, passed the following vote :

“That Napoleon Bonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed emperor of the French, and, in that capacity, be invested with the government of the French republic.

“That the title of emperor, and the imperial power, be made hereditary in his family, in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture.

“That, in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity.”

Bonaparte well aware, that king-craft and priest-craft, go hand in hand, mutually supporting each other, did not, on so important an occasion neglect to brace up his title to the crown, by the aid of religion, and to hint about the divine right of kings. He accordingly announced, his being called to the imperial crown, by “Divine Providence,” to the Bishops of France, in letters of the following import.

“Cousin, the happiness of the French has always been the dearest object of my thoughts, and their glory that of all my labours. Called by Divine Providence, and the constitution of the republic, to the imperial power, I see, in this new order of things, only greater means of assuring, both at home and abroad, the prosperity and dignity of the country. I repose, with confidence, in the powerful succour of the Most High. He will inspire his ministers with the desire of seconding me by all the means in their power. They will enlighten the people by instruction, in preaching

to them the love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of all the christian and civil virtues. They will call down the benedictions of Heaven, upon the nation, and upon the supreme chief of the state. I write you this letter, that, as soon as you have received it, you will cause *Veni Creator* and *Te Deum*, to be sung in all the churches of your diocese, &c. &c.

He also enjoined upon the clergy, the use of the following form of prayer.

"O God, the protector of all kingdoms, and especially of the French empire, grant unto thy servant Napoleon, our emperor, that he may know, and further the wonders of thy power, to the end that he, whom thou hast appointed our sovereign, may be always powerful through thy grace."

The important measure of re-establishing the monarchy, in the person of Bonaparte, at least a measure, *apparently* important, for if he was already Sovereign in fact, he was not in name, nor was the principle of hereditary succession recognized, this measure, which equally gave a finish to the revolution, and to the fortunes of Bonaparte; which restored all the external images, and the real evils of monarchy, that had recently been regarded as so abhorrent, to the national feeling, and against which it had waged war, for fifteen years, met with no opposition but from the solitary voice of the patriot Carnot, always true to his republican principles.

This must be regarded as conclusive evidence, of the change which had taken place in public opinion, and of the entire destitution of independence in the constituted authorities; but principally of the latter, who were the mere creatures of Bonaparte, as much the instruments, which he used to carry into effect his plans, as the tools of a mechanic, are the implements of his trade. It might justly have been said of the French revolution:

———"How chances mock,
And changes fill the cup of alteration,
With divers liquors."

A decree was passed, providing for the ceremony

of the coronation, which was to take place in November following ; and in May, the event was communicated to the diet at Ratisbon, and the different foreign courts.

But before these new honours were to be worn, they were again to be won in the field. The ill-fated destinies of Europe, by which its plains were enriched with human blood could scarcely,

“ Find a time for frighted peace to pant,
And breathe short winded accents of new broils.”

The war spirits of England, had again agitated the hostile element throughout Europe ; and formed another coalition against France. The seizure of the duke d’Enghien, and the outrageous and shameful violation of the territory of the Elector of Baden, as it was called, were among the causes which were made use of to work upon the prejudices, inflame the passions, and enkindle again, the flames of war throughout Europe. But it afterwards appeared that the Elector of Baden, was officially acquainted with the intention of the French government to seize the Duke and other emigrants in his territory, and that he might have taken steps for their security, or signified to them their danger, in season for them to have made their escape, if he had been disposed to have done it.

At the commencement of the year 1804, before hostilities had actually broke out, Bonaparte addressed a letter written with his own hand to the king of England, in person, in which, in a most energetic and powerful manner, he urges the necessity of peace and the folly of renewing hostilities. He said “ he thought it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation, in a moment which afforded the most favourable opportunity to silence the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. He abjured his majesty not so deny himself the pleasure of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that delightful task to his children. Another coalition would only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France.” “ *The world*,” he observes, “ is sufficiently capacious for our two nations to exist in it ; and rea-

son is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides." "Peace," he observes, "had always been his first wish, although war had never been inconsistent with his glory." He concludes: "If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, and without any presumable result to yourself: Alas! what a melancholy prospect! to cause two nations to fight only for the sake of fighting."

To this eloquent, feeling and enegetic appeal, a cold and formal answer was returned, not by the king but by lord Mulgrave, secretary of state for foreign affairs, which ended the negotiation.

Having made the necessary arrangements for the approaching contest, before he left Paris, he delivered an address to the senate, making known his sentiments, and expresses himself in the following animated and energetic language.

"I am just leaving my capital, to place myself at the head of the army, to carry speedy succours to my allies. I tremble at the idea of the blood that must be spilt in Europe, but the French name will emerge with renovated and increased lustre. What promises I have made to the French people I have fulfilled, and the French people have more than performed every engagement they have made with me. They will, at a moment so important for their glory and mine, persist in asserting the name of the *Great People*; a name with which I greeted them in the midst of the fields of death and glory." He concluded in these words: "Frenchmen! your emperor will discharge his duty; my soldiers, and the senate will also discharge theirs."

This was the 23d of September, and at that time the French troops were rapidly advancing towards the scene of action. The French army was estimated at 140,000 men, and consisted of six corps; the first under marshal Bernadotte, the second under Marmont, the third under Davoust, the fourth under marshal Soult, the fifth commanded by marshal Ney, and the sixth by marshal Lannes.

The Austrian general Mack had under his command an army of 90,000 men. Bonaparte, as soon as he arrived at the seat of war, issued a manifesto, charging the third coalition to the gold and intrigues of England. Hostilities were commenced on the 7th of October, at Donawart, the Austrians attempting to defend the bridge at that place, and to stop the advance of marshal Soult. The Austrian main army under Mack, after being considerably reduced by partial actions, entrenched themselves at Ulm, when on the 15th they were attacked, and so dreadfully beaten during three days fighting, that he was obliged to capitulate on the 17th. The archduke Charles, who was in Italy, with an army of 75,000 men, made great exertions by forced marches to join Mack; but did not arrive until that general had been obliged to surrender, with his whole army. Being too weak to oppose Bonaparte, the Arch-duke moved towards Vienna, where he arrived on the 12th of November. Russia having joined Austria in the war, the confederates determined to risk every thing upon the issue of a general engagement. On the 2d of December the memorable battle of Austerlitz was fought. The action commenced at sunrise, and in less than one hour the left wing of the confederates was entirely cut off; which was the forerunner of their total defeat. The loss of the allies was estimated at one fourth of their whole force, with all their artillery and baggage. The field was covered with wounded, the number of which was so great, that they could not all be dressed until two days after the battle.

The forces of the allies engaged in this action were about seventy or eighty thousand, principally Russians, and the French were estimated at eighty thousand. Previously to this action, the arch-duke, who had an army of seventy-five thousand men, opposed to Massena, on the Adige, alarmed for the safety of the capital, hastened to attempt to relieve it. But he was closely pursued by Massena, and the fatal blow was struck before he was able to afford any assistance.

The battle of Austerlitz led to an armistice, which was followed by the treaty of Presburg, concluded on the 26th of December. The conditions of the treaty were humiliating to Austria. The Emperor acknowledged Bonaparte as king of Italy, and acknowledged the new dignity of the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, whom Bonaparte had created kings; ceded the Venetian territory, and all his possessions beyond the Alps; and his possessions in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, were divided between the king of Bavaria, the king of Wirtemberg, and the elector of Baden. The total cessions of Austria were estimated at 1279 square miles, containing a population of more than two millions and a half, and an annual revenue of sixteen millions of florins.

The next morning after the treaty of Presburg was signed, Bonaparte issued a proclamation from his headquarters at Vienna, declaring that the Neapolitan dynasty was at an end.

Having destroyed the third coalition and conquered a peace, Bonaparte set off for Paris, but stopped at Munich to attend the marriage of his son-in-law, Eugene Beauharnois, to the daughter of the king of Bavaria. Arrived at his capital, on the 2d of March 1806, he opened the setting of the legislative bodies, by a speech in which, he inveighed against England, for having fomented the late war and coalition, which he had successfully destroyed, and added to the glory of France. Russia had been obliged to retreat to her own territories, and Austria had been saved by his clemency.

The commencement of the year 1806, was characterized by a change in the British ministry; after the death of Mr. Pitt, it was impossible for the ministry to maintain their posts, and Mr. Fox and his friends, formed a new administration.

On the elevation of Mr. Fox, long regarded as the friend of peace, and considered by his political opponents as the friend of the French revolution, and of Bonaparte, an attempt was made at negotiation. Mr. Talleyrand proposed, to conclude a treaty, on the

basis of the peace of Amiens ; but Mr. Fox, while he frankly professed the sincere desire of England for peace, explicitly stated that his majesty could not negotiate but in conjunction with the Emperor of Russia, whom he considered as a party to the war. After a considerable delay, the negotiation was broken off.

A French army having been sent into Naples, sufficient to overawe all opposition, and the reigning family having fled from the kingdom, on the 30th of March, Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed king of the two Sicilies, and all the constituted authorities compelled to take the oath of fidelity.

The French Emperor had transferred Hanover to the king of Prussia, as an equivalent for several provinces ceded by the latter, notwithstanding which, however, in the negotiations with England, Bonaparte made no scruple of offering to restore to his Brittanic majesty the electorate of Hanover. To break up the German Empire, and weaken the house of Austria, and the king of Prussia, Bonaparte framed what he called the Confederation of the Rhine, consisting of the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Elector of Baden, and several other minor German princes. By the principles of this confederation, these princes were to separate themselves from the German Empire, and renounce all connection with it. To give effect to these arrangements, the Austrian monarch was obliged to renounce his title of Emperor of Germany, and accede to the new order of things.

These measures having alarmed the king of Prussia he made immediate preparations for war. On the 24th of September, Bonaparte left Paris, to put himself at the head of his armies ; negotiations however, were kept up, until the 5th of October, when both Sovereigns were at the head quarters of their respective armies.

A few days after the king of Prussia published a declaration of war, and was so confident in his strength, that he neglected to obtain any reinforcements from the other powers, which he might have done. He

seemed determined to have the *sole* honour of putting down the overgrown power of Bonaparte.

Before the negotiation was closed, the French Emperor, whilst reading a communication from the king of Prussia, turning to those about him observed, "I pity my brother, the king of Prussia ! he understands not French, surely he cannot have read this rhapsody !" This letter was accompanied by the celebrated note of M. de Raobelsdorff. "Marshall !" said the Emperor to Berthier, "they give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th. They say a handsome queen is there who desires to see battles ; let us be polite and march without delay for Saxony." This information was correct, for the queen of Prussia was with the army.

The French army advanced in three divisions, the right under Ney and Soult, the centre under the duke of Berg, and the left under Lannes and Augereau. The corps of Bernadotte and Davoust marched to Gera. The Russians had taken a strong position on the Maine, north of Frankfort, but on the advance of the French they retired, and took up a position near Jena. Here they were attacked by the French on the morning of the 14th of October. The force on each side was nearly equal, consisting of about 250,000 men, and 700 pieces of cannon ; two powerful armies, and possessing ample means of destruction. The Emperor, in addressing the troops, told them, that one year had not elapsed since the enemy that now appeared in the field, was taken at Ulm. The action was commenced by the light troops ; for a short time the issue was doubtful ; but the impetuosity of the French soon carried all before them ; the Prussian infantry, unable to withstand the attack, was broken, thrown into confusion, and a complete route ensued.

The Prussian army was nearly annihilated ; 20,000 were killed and wounded, and between 30 and 40,000 taken prisoners ; the duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded. Among the prisoners were twenty generals, and 300 pieces of cannon were taken. A whole empire was lost by this single battle ; every town, and

fortified city surrendered at a summons, and on the 27th, Bonaparte entered the Prussian capital, where he found much treasure and an immense quantity of military stores.

In the meantime, a Russian army under Benningsen crossed the Vistula, and advancing to Pultusk, a dreadful action was fought at that place, on the 26th of December, in which the French were again victorious. After the defeat of his ally, the king of Prussia sued for peace, but it was refused him.

CHAPTER XII.

The war continued with Russia....Alexander arrives with a reinforcement....Dantzic surrenders....Bonaparte joins the army....Victory of Friedland....Fall of Königsberg....An armistice, followed by the treaty of Tilsit....Berlin and Milan decrees....Immense power of France....Designs of Bonaparte against Spain....Austria renews the war against France....Plan of the campaign....The French penetrate to Vienna, which capitulates....The battle of Essling....The French retire to the island of Lobau....Operations in Italy....The Austrians are again attacked at Wagram, and defeated after an obstinate contest....Peace concluded....Bonaparte returns to Paris....Opens the sitting of the Chamber by a speech....His divorce from Josephine....His marriage with Marie Louise....Holland annexed to France....The king of Rome....Bonaparte's speech to the Legislative body....Additions made to the Empire since the last session....The power of France at its highest elevation....Its great extent occasioned its weakness.

OPERATIONS were renewed the last of January, 1807. The Russian army, which had been greatly reinforced, took up a position behind Eylau, where they were attacked by the French. The contest was obstinate and severe; a thick fall of snow interrupted the view of the French divisions, and for a considerable time they were exposed to extreme uncertainty and danger; but marshal Davoust having succeeded in out-flanking the Russians, they were compelled to

retreat ; but they retired without disorder. The action was not of a decisive character, and was claimed by both parties. Soon after, Alexander arrived with 60,000 men, and Bonaparte ordered strong reinforcements from Germany and France.

In the meantime, the French prosecuted the siege of Dantzic, which after an obstinate defence surrendered on the 21st of May ; an event, that strengthened the left wing of the French army.

For some time, the Russians, being in great force, were disposed to act on the offensive, and gained some small advantages. Bonaparte having arrived on the 8th of June, took the command, and immediately commenced active operations. He regained the positions they had lost, forced the enemy to fall back, and subjected them to considerable losses. From the 12th to the 15th many minor engagements occurred, in which considerable loss was sustained by both parties, particularly by the Russians, who were obliged to fall back upon Friedland. Here on the 14th, the anniversary of the commencement of the memorable battle of Marengo, Bonaparte determined to attack them. The contest was long, obstinate and bloody. It commenced at five in the morning, and continued until seven at night. The Russians were as brave as northern bears, but their barbarous heroism was not a match for the skill, activity and impetuosity of the French. The action was decided by a skilful movement : near the close of the day an immense column of the French, comprising a considerable part of their whole force, fell upon the centre of the Russians, which gave way, and decided the fate of the battle. Their loss was very great ; and an immediate consequence of this victory, was the fall of Königsberg, containing large stores of grain, and 160,000 English muskets, which had been sent for the use of the Russians, and had not been landed. The flying Russians were pursued as far as the Niemen, where they were joined by large reinforcements from Russia ; in consequence of which the Russian commander in chief resolved to hazard another battle. He accordingly crossed the Niemen,

and took a position on a large plain to the right of the town of Tilsit. The French immediately advanced to attack him, but were arrested by an overture from the Russian general for an armistice. On the 22d of June an armistice was concluded, and on the 24th, an interview took place between Bonaparte and the Emperor of Russia, upon a raft on the Niemen. The result of this conference, was a treaty of peace between Bonaparte and the Emperor of Russia, which was ratified on the 9th of July. By this treaty, East Friedland was to be added to the kingdom of Holland; a new kingdom formed from the provinces conquered from Prussia, at the head of which, Jerome Bonaparte was to be placed; the kings of Holland and Naples were acknowledged, and Russia and Prussia agreed to shut their ports against England, and to become parties to Bonaparte's grand continental restrictive system, by means of which he intended to exclude the British manufactures from the continent, and strike a deadly blow at their commerce and revenue.

The treaty of Tilsit leaving Sweden alone, to struggle with the gigantic power of France, and finding all her efforts to defend Pomerania unavailing, she was obliged to supplicate for peace, and a convention was concluded on the 7th of September, which put the French in possession of the Rugen, and the Swedish Islands on the German coast.

After the great and decisive battle of Jena, as Bonaparte was proceeding to Berlin, he passed through Potsdam, where he stopped to view the apartments and visit the tomb of the great Frederick. He ordered the sword and scarf of that monarch, together with the colours which he took in the seven years' war, to be sent as trophies to Paris.

Whilst in the Prussian capital in November 1806, he issued from that city his famous edict, commonly called "the Berlin decree," interdicting all commerce and intercourse between the countries under his control, and the British Islands, which he declared in a state of blockade. This decree occasioned the British orders in Council, of the 11th of November, 1807,

which produced such extensive spoliations upon the American commerce, and led to the embargo, and other restrictive measures in the United States. Bonaparte published a rejoinder to these orders in Council the same month, from Milan, called the Milan decree.

At the close of the year 1807, the political power of Bonaparte was at its greatest height ; he had humbled all his enemies upon the continent, dictated a peace to Russia, Prussia and Sweden, established himself as king of Italy, placed his brother Joseph on the throne of Naples, Louis on the throne of Holland, created the kingdom of Westphalia for his brother Jerome, exalted the electorates of Wirtemberg and Bavaria to the rank of kingdoms, and enlarged their territory ; married his son-in-law Eugene to the daughter of the latter ; established the confederacy of the Rhine ; overawed all the other powers of Europe, made them his allies in the war against England, and caused his restrictive system to be established throughout the continent.

But his ambition knew no bounds ; and like Alexander, who sighed for new worlds to conquer, Bonaparte sighed for more kingdoms ; and also it would seem for more *brothers* to place on the different thrones of Europe. But his ambition carried him a step too far, and at this period he committed the first fatal error. The king of Spain had long been the obsequious and willing tool of Bonaparte, and the whole resources of his kingdom were entirely at his disposal. So completely was he devoted to the French Emperor, that to serve him, he had engaged in a ruinous war with England, in which he steadily persevered. Yet Bonaparte was not satisfied, he was not willing to leave the poor old king the sorry privilege of *wearing* his crown, as he had long since ceased to be an independent sovereign. Bonaparte wanted to have the *nominal*, as well as the *real* government of Spain.

He resolved to seize the kingdom, and transfer his brother Joseph from Naples to Madrid, and to place Murat, his brother-in-law, on the throne of the two Si-

alies. Murat having been ordered with a strong army to Madrid, Charles the 4th was induced to abdicate in favour of his son, Ferdinand 7th, who was afterwards inveigled and deceived into the power of Bonaparte, and compelled to renounce, in his own name, and that of his family, the crown of Spain and the Indies in favour of Joseph Bonaparte. These violent measures roused the spirit of the Dons, and soon led to a general insurrection throughout Spain. The Spanish patriots, receiving the aid and co-operation of Great Britain, made war upon the French, compelled Joseph to leave Madrid, and with wonderful perseverance and enthusiasm, continued the struggle with the gigantic power of Bonaparte, often obtaining considerable advantages, and occasioning a constant drain upon the French armies, until his final overthrow and abdication. Talleyrand is said to have opposed with as much firmness as he dared to do, the designs of Bonaparte upon Spain, and to have urged the folly or inexpediency of them, rather than their outrageous injustice. "Is it not," said he, "easier to govern Spain through the present king, than it would be if he was out of the way; and as you now have the control of all the resources of the country, do you esteem it a privilege, to have the trouble of superintending them yourself? as you already have the milk, can it be an object to have the custody of the cow? it will cost something to keep her; besides, she may be unruly, and make you trouble."

These remarks were lost upon a man who was hurried along by his ambition, and who could hear nothing that opposed it. But he soon found the truth of them. The Spanish Cow, not liking her new master, was unruly and troublesome indeed; the attempt to maintain possession of the country, cost the French, more than all the revenue of the Indies; and by the possession of the Cow, the milk was lost; as the revenue no longer went into the French coffers. The protracted war with Spain, was extremely wasting to the French armies, and the Peninsula became the grave of thousands of brave Frenchmen. This strug-

gle was entirely different from any, in which Bonaparte had been engaged ; in his other wars a single campaign, and often a single battle, was decisive of the contest. The reason of this difference is obvious ; this, was a war against the nation or people ; whereas his contests with the northern powers, were wars against kings, in which, the people had no interest ; consequently when their *armies* were conquered, they could maintain the contest no farther ; but in a war against a nation, to conquer its armies is of little consequence ; you must conquer the *people*, who, unless this is done, will supply new armies, as fast as they may be destroyed. This is an advantage which a free state has over a despotic one. Spain was in the situation now, that France was, during the early part of the revolution ; the nation was roused to defend itself against foreign oppressors.

The obstinate and spirited resistance of the Dons, and the ruinous war in the Spanish Peninsula, tended to stir up the embers of war on the Continent, which had only been smothered by fear, and afforded a powerful stimulus to Great Britain, to renew her exertions and her subsidies, to form another coalition against France. Austria, which had been the backbone of all the coalitions ; who seems to have made war from *choice*, and peace from *necessity*, who appears to have concluded treaties only for the purpose of *taking breath*, and to have renewed hostilities, as soon as she had recruited her strength : Austria required no great stimulating to induce her to renew hostilities.— Indeed she had long been making preparations, and issued a formal declaration of war on the 6th of April 1809. Her army at this time consisted of nine corps, of 30,000 men each, besides several corps of reserve, comprising about 55,000 men, making a grand total of about 325,000 men. Learning that the Austrians had crossed the Inn, Bonaparte left Paris on the 13th of April, and arrived at his head quarters at Donawert, on the 17th. He immediately began to collect the different corps of his army, and put them in operation. His plan was to manœuvre the whole Austrian line, to

direct their attention from the principal point of attack, where he intended to break their line, and pass between the army of the arch-duke Charles, and that commanded by his brother.

In consequence of various successes of the French, particularly at Eckmühl, the arch-duke was obliged to cross the Danube, to form a junction with general Bellegarde, who had attempted to check the French, on the frontier of Bohemia. The Arch duke, being unable to make a stand, Bonaparte advanced rapidly in the course of the Danube towards Vienna, and on the 10th of May, appeared once more before that city, which after a show of resistance surrendered.—The arch-duke, informed of the fate of the capital, moved down on the left bank of the Danube, to watch the motions of Bonaparte, and took a position at Ebersdorf. The French Emperor instantly resolving to attack him, marched down the south bank of the River, about six miles from Vienna, where the stream is divided by two Islands, and its rapidity broken.—Here he determined to cross it. Extending his troops on the right bank, his right wing was fixed at Essling and his left at Aspern. The Arch-duke having retreated as the French advanced, took a favourable position, and prepared for a general attack. Here on 21st and 22d of May, was fought the long, obstinate and sanguinary battle of Essling, as it was called by the French, or of Aspern, as the Austrians named it, each designating it, by the point where they were successful. The first day, the action was terminated only by the darkness of the night, at which time, the French were driven from Aspern, but retained Essling. On the morning of the 22d the French regained Aspern; but in the course of the day, the Austrians, by repeated attacks, succeeded in driving them from it, and also from Essling; the following night, the French moved from the left bank of the Danube, and took up a possession on the Isle of Lobau, where they entrenched themselves, and waited for the arrival of reinforcements. In this action both parties claimed

the victory ; the result was not decisive ; both suffered severely.

In the mean time, the war was carried on in Italy between the Viceroy Eugene, and the Archduke John. The commencement of operations, was favourable to the Austrians, who took Padua, Vincenza, crossed the Adige, and menaced Venice ; but the Viceroy, being reinforced, retook the places lost, crossed the Brenta, and drove the Archduke before him. The situation of the Archduke Charles, required these troops to reinforce his army, and as they were proceeding to join him on the Danube, they were met and attacked at Raab, on the 14th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo. The action was severely and warmly contested ; at length the troops of the Hungarian insurrection gave way ; a general route followed, and the imperialists were obliged to save themselves by flight.

Bonaparte having concentrated most of his troops, and being reinforced by the Viceroy, determined to cross the river, and give battle to the Archduke Charles, who had also received strong reinforcements.

As if by the power of magic, three bridges were almost instantly thrown across the river, on which the troops were to pass, and another opposite to Essling, the object of which was to draw off the attention of the Austrian commander to that quarter. One bridge of eighty toises long, consisting of but one piece, was fixed in five minutes, one of boats was completed in an hour and a half, and one of rafts in two hours. On the night of the 4th of July, being dark and rainy, in the short space of two hours, the whole French army crossed the river, unopposed and unperceived ; and in the morning they were beheld with astonishment by the Archduke Charles, drawn up in order of battle at the extremity of his left wing. By this masterly movement, the Archduke Charles was completely deceived ; he had expected that the conflict would take place on the same ground as the former, and had made his arrangements accordingly ; he had thrown up lines, of which the left was protected by

Etzendorf and the right by Aspean ; they were covered by redoubts surrounded by pallisadoes, and defended by one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The action was commenced at day light, and by six o'clock all of the Austrian fortifications between Essling and Etzendorf were taken, and almost the whole of the garrisons killed or wounded. The arch-duke endeavoured to outflank the French right, while they directed their principal efforts to break the Austrian centre near Wagram ; and at evening had nearly gained that village, when two columns, one of French the other of Saxons mistaking each other, were thrown into confusion, which enabled the Austrians to recover the post.

The next morning Bonaparte perceiving that the arch-duke had weakened his centre to extend his flanks, and learning that the Austrians were outflanking his left, formed two strong columns, which, preceded by 100 pieces of artillery, advanced to within half musket shot of the Austrian centre, and then opened a tremendous fire which silenced their guns, and threw their ranks into disorder ; this was followed by a charge from the columns, which compelled the centre to give away ; the right wing, unable to sustain itself, fell back also, and soon the left followed the example. The fate of the day was decided ; victory again declared for her favourite. The Austrians fled and were pursued by the victors until the 12th, when they made overtures for an armistice. In the battle of Wagram, the French, according to their own accounts, took 20,000 prisoners, while their own loss was estimated at 1,500 killed, and 4,000 wounded.

A definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria was signed on the 14th of October, by which the latter ceded to the former all her sea-coasts, and the kingdoms of Bavaria and Saxony were enlarged so as to become more efficient checks upon Austria. Prussia was rewarded for her neutrality by the cession of part of Galicia, and the *legitimacy* of Joseph as king of Spain, although he had been obliged to flee from Madrid, was recognized. These were the leading

articles of the treaty as published to the world ; but it is supposed that there was a stipulation of a domestic nature, which must have wounded the feelings of Francis more than the sacrifices of territory which he was constrained to make.

After the return of Bonaparte to France, the sittings of the legislative body were opened by an imperial speech, in which the events of the year 1809, and the state of France at the close of it, formed the principal topics, as usual. "I was marching" he said "on Lisbon and Cadiz, when I was under the necessity of treading back my steps and planting the French Eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. Three months had witnessed the rise and termination of the fourth Punic war ; which has made fresh additions to the glory and the continental preponderance of France."

In the course of the year 1809, Bonaparte deprived Switzerland of even nominal independence, which it had possessed, by declaring himself mediator of that country.

Early in the year 1810 Bonaparte "put away his wife" and took to himself another. He was induced to this measure solely by political considerations, and not like Henry the 8th or the present George the 4th, because he could not "controul his inclinations." He appears always to have been attached to Josephine; his marriage to whom, undoubtedly contributed in some degree to his rapid fortune. The object of Bonaparte was to consolidate the great empire he had established ; and feeling secure during his own life time, he was looking forward beyond it. There was no prospect of his having issue by Josephine, and if there was, he thought that *royal blood*, and a connection with the house of Austria, would add to the stability of his throne, when possessed by his successor.

On the 27th of February, Berthier was sent to Vienna to demand the hand of the arch-duchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor Francis, with whom he had so long been contending. The marriage ceremony was performed at Vienna on the 11th of March, the arch-duke Charles representing Bonaparte, on

this occasion. What an interesting and delicate affair is a royal wedding. *Politics* are substituted for *love*, and matters of state, for marriage settlements. What changeable creatures kings are! One day they will attempt to murder each other in the field, and the next be engaged in forming matrimonial alliances. During twelve years Bonaparte and the arch-duke had been opposed to each other, in the strife of war, and now the latter *personates* the former, in a marriage of his own niece. Children never quarrelled and made friends again, with more ease than crowned heads.

Even Louis, Bonaparte's brother, was not disposed to join sufficiently hearty, in his continental restrictive system, and Napoleon determined upon the annexation of Holland to France. This measure the emperor justified by alledging that the English orders in Council having destroyed the public law in Europe, the security of France required that the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser and the Elbe, should be under its controul, and internal navigation between France and the Baltic established. The Hans Towns were soon after added to the French empire, when it was said, "that after a glorious struggle for ten years, the most extraordinary genius that ever nature in her munificence produced, had reunited and held in his triumphal hands the scattered wrecks of the empire of Charlemagne."

At this period decrees were passed for the more rigorous enforcement of the restrictive system; military governors were appointed at the ports annexed to France; and all English merchandize, whether taken by land or sea, was to be burnt.

Several arbitrary decrees relating to internal affairs were passed; one requiring all servants of both sexes to register their names in books to be kept by the Prefects of the police. The liberty of the press was attacked by another; there being no more than four presses and sixty printers allowed in the capital, and two presses and a proportional number of printers in each of the departments.

To mitigate the privations occasioned by the restrictive system, the cultivation of the beet root, as a substitute for the sugar cane, and the plant woad, to supply the place of indigo, was enjoined ; and so confident was Bonaparte of success in this scheme, that he prohibited the importation and use of the sugar and indigo of the West Indies as English commodities, to take effect on first of January 1813.

On the 20th of April the empress was delivered of a son, in whose behalf the title of " King of Rome " was received. On the 26th of June the minister of the interior presented the annual expose, of the state of the French empire ; which stated, " that since the last session, the empire had received an addition of 16 departments, five millions of people, a territory yielding a revenue of 100 millions of livres, 300 leagues of coast, with all their maritime means ; the mouths of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt were not then French ; the circulation of the interior empire was circumscribed. The mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, place in our hands all the timber that Germany furnishes ; the frontiers of the empire lean on the Baltic, and this having a direct communication with the north, it will be easy for us to draw from thence, masts, hemp, iron, and such other naval stores as we may want. We at this moment unite all that France, Germany and Italy produce as materials for the construction of ships."

At this period the extent and power of France was at its greatest height ; yet great as it was, it was not co-extensive with the ambition of its ruler. The period of its greatest power was also the period of its greatest weakness. As Bonaparte himself said, there was but one step between the sublime and the ridiculous, so it is often the case, that there is but one step between the greatest *elevation* and the *Fall*, of individuals and of Empires. Mortals are, placed on the surface of the earth, and when, disregarding nature's bounds, they soar too high, their heads becoming dizzy exposes them to fall. The enlargement of an Empire augments its external strength, but increases its internal

weakness ; it becomes stronger as it respects its neighbours, but weaker in itself. But where the parts of an Empire are thrown together by conquest, and united only by force, its internal weakness is much greater, and the moment the force is removed it falls to pieces. Such an Empire is like a cask ; it is not held together by any internal principles of union or sympathy among the parts, but by the external bands that surround it. The more extensive it is therefore, the greater is the strain upon the external bands of power, which keep it together ; and if they once break, before they can be replaced the whole fabrick falls to pieces. Such was the condition of the French Empire in 1810 and 1811, preceding the war which broke out between France and Russia, which proved fatal to it, and dissolved the spell of Bonaparte's ambition, that had so long paralyzed Europe.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Emperor Alexander is uneasy under the Treaty of Tilsit.... Protracted negotiation.... During which both parties make extensive preparation for war.... Bonaparte joins the army... Declares war against Russia.... The Russians adopt the Fabian policy... Actions at Witepsk.... Macdonald sustains a severe loss and recrosses the Dwina.... Attack at Borodino.... The Russians abandon Moscow and deliver it up to the flames.... The French commence their retreat.... The winter sets in.... The dreadful calamities of the French army.... Destruction at Krasnai.... The remains of the army reach Wilna.... Bonaparte proceeds to Paris.... Defection and revolt of the allies.... Great exertions of France to carry on the war.... Bonaparte returns to the army.... Fixes his head quarters at Dresden.... The allies are defeated in several engagements and obliged to retreat.... The mediation of Austria.... She declares against France.... Action at Dresden.... Moreau is killed.... Obstinate action at Leipzig.

THE conditions of the treaty of Tilsit, bore hard upon the emperor Alexander, and he was disposed to free himself from them ; yet wished to avoid offend-

ing Bonaparte ; he hesitated about delivering up Finland to Sweden ; and he secretly connived at the introduction into his dominions, of British goods, contrary to the treaty. He was induced to do this from the prejudicial influence of the restrictive system upon the revenue, and commerce of his empire.

The year 1811 was spent in negotiations, neither party being ready for hostilities ; and both were making the most active preparations. At the close of the year the Emperor Alexander, found his whole military force amounting to 400,000 men, three fourths of which were available in case of a war with France for that object. Bonaparte had not been less active ; and although the war still raged in Spain, which kept up a constant drain upon the French armies, he collected by the spring of 1812, a more numerous and better equipped army, than he had ever before led into the field. He spoke, and the north and the south sent forth their troops, and the east and the west did not hold back. From the southern extremity of Europe to the shores of the Baltic, the war-summons was sent forth and obeyed ; Murat marched with the Italians ; the confederation of the Rhine supplied its contingent ; the King of Saxony his ; the King of Prussia, reluctantly contributed nearly all his army, and Austria was called upon to fulfil her engagements, which required that in the event of war she should support France.

On the 9th of May 1812, Bonaparte left St. Cloud to place himself at the head of the immense forces which he had assembled, amounting to about 400,000 men, and with which he expected to overwhelm the power of Russia. On the 6th of June he crossed the Vistula ; on the 22d, formally declared war against Russia, and, two days after, passed the Neimen, and entered the territories of the autocrat.

The Emperor Alexander and his generals had adopted the Fabian plan of conducting the war ; and determined to permit Bonaparte to advance into the heart of their vast, desolate and barbarous Empire, opposing him where it could be done successfully, harassing

and weakening him as he advanced, and desolating the country before him, to deprive his army of the means of subsistence. Whilst in that part of Russia which she stole from Poland, this system of warfare was not felt, as the Poles regarded Bonaparte as their liberator, and received him with joy. On the 28th of June he entered Wilna, where he remained until the 17th of July, but the divisions of the army were on the advance. His plan was here unfolded; which was to strike a fatal blow with one division of his army, and with another to advance rapidly to Petersburgh. The troops destined for the latter object were commanded by Macdonald, and the rest of the army with Bonaparte followed the line of retreat of the Russians.

The French reached Witepsk on the 24th July, where the Russians, who had been compelled to retreat from Drisna, had taken a position. On the three following days three obstinate battles were fought, in which the French succeeded in compelling the Russians to retreat, but sustained a serious loss. The division under Macdonald was still less fortunate. His plan was to cross the Dwina, come round upon Riga, and cut off the communication with the capital. But in the two severe battles which he fought on the 30th and 31st of July his force suffered so severely and became so weakened, he was obliged to recross the Dwina, leaving free the communication between Petersburgh and the main Russian army. The main army of the French did not leave Witepsk until near the middle of August, having suffered so much from fatigue, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions. From this place they proceeded to Smolensk, where a general engagement took place; but the Russian commander adhering to his system of conducting the war, having caused the French great loss, again retreated. Bonaparte perceiving that the Russians meant to retreat in the direction of Moscow, attempted to cut them off from that route, but did not succeed. At Borodino, near Moscow, the Russian general made a stand, and taking a position extremely favourable for defence resolved to try the issue of a general engagement.

Bonaparte did not hesitate to attack Kutusoff, strongly posted as he was, and notwithstanding he could have reached Moscow without fighting. The force of each party was nearly equal, consisting of about 120,000 men; to this comparatively small number, had the main French army been reduced, by the several battles which had been fought, but more by fatigue, disease, the want of provisions, and the constant harassment, and incursions of the Cossacs, who hung like a cloud around them. On the 7th of September, at six o'clock in the morning, the French, made a vigorous attack upon the Russian line, with the expectation of carrying it; the contest was dreadfully obstinate and sanguinary, but the attempt did not succeed. In the meantime 30,000 Cossacs cut their way into the French camp, carrying confusion and disorder along with them. Bonaparte now ordered an attack to be made on the heights, which, after a sharp and bloody conflict succeeded. But while the French were successful in one quarter, the Russians were in another, who drove back the French. The action was continued with the greatest fury until night, and darkness put a stop to the work of death. The French were masters of the field of battle, but were so much weakened that Bonaparte drew off his forces.

The French being reinforced after this action by a corps under Marshal Victor, the Russian general was obliged to abandon Moscow to its fate.

Bonaparte now beheld within his reach the ancient capital of the Czars; the occupation of which, if he did not calculate would bring Alexander to terms, he looked to it, as a refuge against the severities of a Russian winter, and as affording abundance of provisions and supplies of every description, which his army were suffering for the want of. With what astonishment and mortification, then, must he have beheld, the flames devouring the Russian capital, at the very moment that he was prepared to enter it.

Bonaparte had at last fought his way to his own ruin, and the destruction of his army. His bold policy of pressing forward with rapidity, and seizing upon

the capital of his enemy, which had hitherto been successful, now proved fatal to him. The flames of Moscow was the lighting up of the funeral pile of his army. Bonaparte sensible that the safety of his army depended upon negotiations, used every expedient to induce Alexander to treat for peace—but in vain; the latter knew too well that the conqueror of the capital of the czars had voluntarily placed himself in his power. Six hundred miles from his resources, and equally removed from a hospitable climate, in a rigorous and barborous country, affording no means of subsistence, surrounded with powerful armies constantly receiving reinforcements, in the midst of a hostile and ferocious peasantry, who every where fled at his approach, and surrounded by flying parties of Cossacs—but what was worse than all these, exposed to the rigours of a *Russian winter*, the situation of his army was truly deplorable. Unwilling to relinquish the object of inducing Alexander, to agree to terms of peace, he remained at Moscow until the middle of October, when the proud and obstinate spirit of Bonaparte gave way, and he resolved to retreat: but the resolution was taken too late; the winter almost immediately set in, the effects of which were dreadful beyond description. Had he left Moscow, after having stayed sufficient time to recruit his troops, he might have avoided the severity of the winter, and the unparalleled disasters which befel him. Bonaparte was greatly chagrined at the destruction of Moscow, and at the desolations which the Russians occasioned, to prevent the French availing themselves of provisions, and a shelter from the winter. "Never," said Bonaparte, "was a war prosecuted with such ferocity; never did defence put on so hostile a shape against the common feelings of self preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its worst enemies."

All hopes of negotiation being at an end, and being resolved to retreat, Murat and the viceroy Eugene, were ordered to attack the main Russian army which occupied the Kalouga road, by which Bo-

naparte intended to retire. But the attempt was unsuccessful and attended with a severe loss, which obliged Napoleon to abandon the intention of retreating on that route. But to deceive Kutusoff he began his march in that direction, and afterwards turned off on to the road to Smolensk. The Emperor ordered the wag-gons of wounded soldiers, ammunition and provisions on to Smolensk. Murat commanded the advance of the army and the Viceroy the rear.

Bonaparte's stay at Moscow, was not only prejudicial to him, but highly advantageous to the Russians, as it afforded them time to recover from their losses, and to prepare to pursue the French on their retreat.

In answer to an overture from Bonaparte to treat, Kutusoff said "it is no time for negociation, the campaign on our part is but just opened."

Kutusoff with the main Russian army pursued the French in a parallel line, leaving it for the Cossacs, and other troops, to hang open their rear and flanks, and to harass them with constant incursions and skirmishing. On the 2d of November the rear guard of the Russian army came up with, and attacked the French near Viasma, they defended themselves with desperation, but being worn out with fatigue and privations, were compelled to retreat and suffered a heavy loss. After this affair, the Emperor surrounded by his guards pushed on to Smolensk.

The misery and distresses of the French were now beyond all description. The severity of the Russian winter had come upon them with all its frightful horrors; the men were almost petrified with the cold, and the horses were nearly all frozen to death; this compelled the soldiers to drag their cannon, although they could scarcely draw along their own weary limbs, overcome by fatigue and famine.

So destructive was the frost that in one day nearly 30,000 horses died. "The spirits of the soldiers completely deserted them; they crawled on, exposed to the most dreadful cold, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, emaciated and almost naked. The road was literally blocked up with the dead and the dying; they

had no power to defend themselves against the Cossacs, who constantly hovered around them—they had no inclination to do it; death to them would have been a blessing; at the sight of the Cossacs they hoped their misery would soon be terminated; but their enemies were not so merciful as to put them to death: piercing them with wounds, stripping off the little covering they had, they left them in the snow bleeding and naked, to the rigours of a Russian winter. Whenever the French entered any village, where there was the least chance for repose or food, they exerted their little remaining strength, and crawled on their hands and feet to seek it. Frequently, just as they stretched out their hands to seize a little food, or reached the threshold of a wretched hut, under which they looked for shelter from the weather, perhaps for a few minutes' sleep, the remnant of their strength failed them and they expired."

They could no longer be said to compose an army, but were a vast multitude of miserable and wretched fugitives, wandering about, ignorant of the roads, and alarmed at the approach of the Cassacs; death alone seemed capable of affording them relief, and of putting an end to their sufferings. Their numbers were constantly diminishing; the roads were lined with the dying and the dead. They sustained an immense loss at Krasnai, being attacked by Kutsuoff, and completely routed; the division of Davoust of 24,000 being nearly all killed wounded or made prisoners; a few days after Ney's division was surrounded and 12,000 laid down their arms. As they approached the Beresina, two bridges were thrown across the river; a part of the troops had passed, when the Russians coming up opened a tremendous cannonade upon them; they rushed in crowds towards the bridge, when, at the moment they expected to cross, it was blown up by the order of Bonaparte, who was driven to the dreadful necessity of saving a part of his army at the expence of the rest. A shout of despair followed the explosion; numbers plunged into the river and disappeared among the masses of ice. In this affair 5,000 were

killed and 13,000 taken prisoners ; and a large portion of the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the Russians. From this place, the scattered remains of the recently powerful invading army, drawn from almost every part of Europe, like a mass of stragglers proceeded for the Neimen, their misery and sufferings being unparalleled in the annals of the world. The scene of a night-watch frequently exhibited at day light a circle of the dying and the dead wrapped in matting, rags, old canvass, and even raw hides stripped from the perishing horses ; the fugitives benumbed with cold, set fire to houses and villages to warm their frozen limbs, but the sudden transition from cold to heat, racked their joints with agony, and some becoming frantic threw themselves into the flames which relieved them from their misery.

They reached Wilna on the 7th of December, when there was less than 100,000 remaining of this once powerful army of 400,000 men. Previous to this, Bonaparte, travelling incognito, accompanied by Coulincourt, in a sledge, left the army and proceeded for Paris, where he arrived on the 18th of September.

The division of the army under Macdonald, which had marched in the direction of Petersburg, not being permitted to retreat before the main army, had suffered nearly in the same degree both from the enemy and the climate.

These complicated and unparalleled disasters produced the effects which were to have been expected. The yoke of a conqueror does not sit easy : defection became general among the allies of France ; the Prussian troops revolted ; the Austrians followed the example ; but the king of Saxony still adhered to the cause of Bonaparte.

The French continued to retreat until they reached Luneburg, where they made a stand. Here they were attacked by the Russians and Prussians, who had united their forces ; the contest was long, obstinate and sanguinary ; but the allies, being more numerous, were at length victorious. At this time 50,000 men were collected at Stralsund, and the crown prince of Swe-

den expected to take command of them. The tide of fortune was at last changed ; it had long flown in Bonaparte's favour ; but now, the tide ebbed with as strong a current as it had ever flown. But the extent of his disasters, and the magnitude of the danger did not daunt the unyielding and proud spirit of Bonaparte. His exertions were in proportion to the exigency of the occasion ; he applied all his activity and vigour to call forth the resources of France, on a scale corresponding with the magnitude of the crisis. His exertions were seconded by the constituted authorities ; a senatus consultum of the 11th of January 1813, placed 350,000 men at his disposal.

The new levies having been ordered on towards the scene of action, on the 5th of April Bonaparte set out to put himself at the head of his armies, first appointing the Empress regent. After the battle of Lutzen, the French crossed the Elbe at Dresden, and Bonaparte fixed his head quarters at this place. The allies fell back upon the Spree, and took a position upon the heights, with the centre of their front line behind Boutzen. Here they were attacked by Bonaparte on the morning of the 20th of May, and after several hours hard fighting, he succeeded in driving them back to Hochkirchen, where they were attacked the next day. The conflict here was more obstinate than the first, but the allies were again obliged to retreat.

Bonaparte having been successful since the commencement of the last campaign, the emperor of Austria offered his mediation, in consequence of which, a cessation of hostilities took place. This led to a congress at Prague, but no pacific results were produced, and the enemies of Bonaparte constantly increased. Austria, from a mediator became an enemy ; the Crown Prince of Sweden, formerly one of Bonaparte's own generals, had landed in Germany, and joined the coalition.

The long career of Bonaparte's success had rendered him obstinate and blindly infatuated ; the dreadful disasters of his Russian campaign, it was to have been

supposed, would have convinced him, that he was not exempt from the vicissitudes of fortune, and of the uncertain issue of war. Had he made some sacrifices at this period, there is no doubt, he might have obtained peace. But that same destiny which had hurried him on, in his career of ambition and glory, seemed now to hurry him on blindfolded to his destruction. He might have obtained peace without any great sacrifice of interest or of honour, which would have afforded him time to have retrieved his affairs, broken up the present coalition, and divided his enemies. Peace, therefore, would have secured him every thing he wanted ; whereas it was apparent that if he was unfortunate in the present campaign, it would be fatal to his power if not to his crown. But he was blind as to these obvious views, and determined to put every thing at stake upon the uncertain issue of the campaign. Destiny seems to have ordered that he should have been blind and infatuated ; the repose of Europe required the overthrow of his power, and the cause of civil liberty, and the rights of mankind, both of which he had basely betrayed, demanded that such an example of successful usurpation should not exist ; a usurpation, not of the rights of the Bourbons, but of those of the *people* of France, of Italy, and of the human race ; as mankind have a common interest in maintaining the sacred principles of civil liberty.

The armistice was continued to the 10th of August, when Austria formally declared war against France, and hostilities were soon after renewed. Bonaparte's army at this time consisted of about 300,000 men.

An action was fought on the 26th near Lignitz, in which the French sustained a heavy loss. They fell back and entrenched themselves in a strong position, in the suburbs of Dresden. Here they were unsuccessfully attacked by the allies on the 27th, and the next day the French became assailants. The allies occupied the height around the city. The action continued with great warmth until evening, when the allies retired towards the Bohemian frontier.

In this engagement Moreau, who had left the Uni-

ted States, to join in the war against France, was killed by a cannon ball whilst conversing with the Emperor Alexander. The ball shattered one of his legs, and passing through his horse carried off the other. It was truly an inglorious death, for so distinguished a general and patriot, to be killed fighting in the ranks of the enemies of his country. Although Bonaparte was successful in the main action, general Vandamme, who had been detached to seize the passes in the rear of the enemy, was taken, with 10,000 of his men. About this time, too, Blucher had defeated Macdonald, in Silesia, taken from him 15,000 prisoners, and pursued him to Dresden.

The division of Ney was defeated by Bernadotte on the 6th of September at Dennevitz, and 5000* prisoners taken.

Being weakened by these losses, Bonaparte remained at Dresden until the middle of October, waiting for reinforcements from France. The Bavarians at this time joined the allies, which threw 35,000 men into their scale.

The hostile parties concentrated their forces at Leipzig, where a partial action was fought on the 16th of October, which was followed by a general engagement on the 18th. In the action of the 16th, the French had rather the advantage, but that of the 18th was peculiarly disastrous.

The contest was one of the most obstinate and sanguinary that is upon record. During the heat of the action, a large body of Westphalian and Saxon troops deserted from Bonaparte and joined the allies; and this example was followed by seventeen German battalions. Victory at length declared for the allies. The loss of Bonaparte, in killed, wounded and prisoners, was estimated by the allies at 40,000. The king of Saxony sent a flag to Alexander, requesting him to spare the city; but an immediate assault was made, and at eleven o'clock it was taken, two hours after Bonaparte had left it. His rear-guard and all his sick were captured. The French retreated in great disorder.

der towards Frankfort, where on the 31st, Bonaparte fixed his head-quarters.

From here he immediately proceeded to Paris, convened the senate, laid before them his disasters with apparent frankness, and appealed to the nation to support him in so great a crisis. The danger being imminent, the allies having already invaded the frontiers of France, two decrees were passed, one providing for the immediate levy of 300,000 conscripts, and the other imposing additional taxes.

When a man begins to fall, every one will give him a kick; more especially one, who has been exalted, and who in the exercise of power, has *forgot right*. Thus it was with Bonaparte; the causes which overthrew his greatness were like a falling body, the momentum of which, increases as it proceeds. Bonaparte's reverses constantly increased the causes which produced them; that disaster which to-day was the *effect* of a preceding one, becomes to-morrow the *cause* of a fresh misfortune. A revolution broke out in Holland; Hanover joined the allies; the coasts of Trieste and Dalmatia were obliged to be abandoned to the Austrians; numerous garrisons surrendered, and Denmark declared against France.

CHAPTER XIV.

Manifesto of the allied Sovereigns....The indifference of the people as to the contest....Extraordinary exertions of Bonaparte to recruit his armies....France is invaded from the north and the south....Negociation at Chatillon....Bonaparte leaves Paris to join the army....Action at La Rotherie....Bonaparte attacks and pursues Blucher....The grand allied army advances towards Paris....Bonaparte rejects the basis of peace proposed by the allies....Action at Loan....Napoleon's ultimatum rejected, and the Congress dissolved....Bonaparte marches to oppose the main army of the allies, and then to oppose that under Blucher....He is greatly harassed and fatigued by forced marches, and extraordinary exertions....His extraordinary movement to St. Dizier....The allied armies approach the capital... Action before Paris....Capitulation of the city, and entry of the alliesBonaparte, on his way to Paris hears of the capitulation and returns to Fontainebleau....He abdicates....His treaty with the allied sovereigns....Louis 18th enters Paris....Bonaparte leaves Fontainebleau for his destination at Elba.

THE Allied Sovereigns assembled at Frankfort, where on the 1st of December they published a declaration disclosing their views in the prosecution of the war. Their only object they said, was the repose of Europe, and the security of their dominions ; they had no hostile designs against France ; and disclaimed all intention of interfering in the internal concerns or government of France ; it was for the interest of Europe that she should be independent and powerful, and they were willing to guarantee to her a territory and power much greater than she originally possessed. These sentiments and intentions were repeatedly proclaimed. In the meantime the allied troops crossed the Rhine and invaded the territory of France. At this alarming crisis, it is evident that the people of France felt little interest in the contest ; they had fought and bled, and suffered enough for *glory*, as that was nearly all the nation had received from the foreign wars, and an ambition of Bonaparte. The people did not consider the contest theirs ; but only a struggle between kings who should have the mastery. The time was, when, if the troops of the allies had in-

vaded France, the nation would have been electrified with patriotic ardour, and every Frenchman would have rallied round the tri-coloured flag.

Bonaparte now perceived the difference between a nation contending for liberty, and one fighting for a master; he perceived that by destroying the spirit of the revolution and of liberty, he had destroyed that spirit which animated his soldiers at the bridge of Lodi, which enabled him to scatter the Austrian Eagles, that spontaneously called forth all the resources of the nation, and rendered it powerful in proportion as its dangers increased; in fine, he discovered that he had destroyed that spirit which had made him, what he once was, the terror of Europe, and the most successful commander that ever lived. Perceiving that the levy of the conscripts proceeded slowly, he resolved to make a desperate effort, and on the 26th of December, issued a decree, announcing the appointment of councillors of state, as commissioners extraordinary, to visit the different departments, to provide and organize the means of national defence. There were thirty of these officers, but their exertions were not attended with much success; many of them probably did not feel very hearty in the cause themselves.

While these operations were going on in Germany, the war still raged in the Spanish Peninsula. The united forces of England and Spain, having obtained numerous advantages, compelled Soult to retreat beyond the Spanish frontier, and on the 7th of October, crossed the Bidassoa, and entered France, and after various operations, by the 13th of December, the French army had been compelled to retire, and secure themselves in the vicinity of Bayonne. France was at the same time, invaded from the north and the south, by numerous and victorious armies. By the middle of January 1814, the allied army from the north, had penetrated one hundred miles into France, without meeting with the least opposition, even the firing of a single gun, and took up a position at Langres, an ancient and considerable town.

Notwithstanding, that France was invaded on the

north and the south, and the extraordinary exertions which he had made, Bonaparte had not been able to collect any considerable force. The troops he had organized, had been sent a part of them under Victor, to Alsace, to oppose the Bavarians, and the residue under Marmont, to the frontier of the Rhine, to oppose Blucher, who had crossed that river near Mannheim. These two divisions of French troops, were both unable to resist their opponents, and compelled to retire before them.

Bonaparte, alarmed for the internal security of France, not only the old royalists, but many of the republicans shewing symptoms of disaffection, and sensible that the troops he had raised were inadequate to cope with his numerous enemies, lingered in Paris. He was now desirous of treating, and dispatched Caulincourt as his minister, to the head quarters of the allied sovereigns at Chatillon.

The embarrassments and difficulties of Bonaparte were increased by the stoppage of payment, by the national bank of France. At length, having appointed Maria Louisa regent, he left Paris, on the 25th of January.

The French armies were collected from different positions; and concentrated within the line of the Meuse, and the allied forces were concentrating and pressing on the same points, and by the first of February, their two grand armies were united. The Russians and Austrians, were commanded by the prince of Schwartzensburgh (formerly the archduke Charles,) and the Prussians by Blucher, under whose command two corps of Austrians were placed after the junction of the armies. After some partial movements, a general and most desperate action was fought at La Rotherie.

The French were led on by Bonaparte in person, who inspired his troops to make a vigorous and desperate effort; for some time, they were successful, but the inferior number of the allies, and being animated by the presence of their sovereigns, they opposed to Bonaparte a firmness and perseverance,

which he could not overcome. The conflict continued with the greatest fury until ten at night, when the allies were masters of La Rotherie ; but the French held the ground beyond it, and occupied the heights of Brienne, near which their right had been posted at the commencement of the action.

Sensible of the importance of La Rotherie, Bonaparte made several vigorous attempts to regain it, but did not succeed, and was finally obliged to retreat, having sustained a considerable loss. He retreated to Troyes, and from there to Nogent ; the allies pursuing him with great rapidity, entered Troyes on the 7th of February. The people of France who would once have risen *en masse* to expel from their territory the mercenaries of the north, now beheld these mighty struggles in the midst of them, between their Emperor, and the allied despots, with apparent indifference. They seemed to regard the contest, as the man did that between a snake and a hawk, who was not disposed to interfere on *either side*. The mass of the people evidently did not wish for the restoration of the Bourbons, and were also tired of the despotism of Bonaparte. In the meantime, the negotiation was kept up at Chatillon ; but lord Castlereagh having arrived on the part of Great Britain, and the armies of the allies, having been successful, their tone was somewhat changed. The arriving of the British minister, and the prospect of their armies being able to penetrate to Paris, induced them, if not to decline treating on their former basis, at least to prolong the negotiation, that they might know the issue of the campaign, which, if successful, would enable them to refuse to treat with Bonaparte altogether.

From the great inferiority of his forces, Bonaparte perceived that he was unable to contend with the united armies of the allies ; he resolved therefore to proceed with the whole of his force against Blucher, who was separated some distance from the other allied army, with the hopes of overwhelming him ; and then turn upon the other ; and thus conquer his numerous enemies singly. Previous to this however, he made

a rapid movement to the north of Nogent, where he attacked a Russian corps and made all of them prisoners. Being reinforced by Marmont, he marched against Blucher, who retreated. But having formed his infantry into squares, Bonaparte, although he made the most incessant and furious attacks, was not able to break them. Having ordered a body of cavalry, and another of infantry, through bye roads to intercept Blucher's line, and fall upon his flanks, he was attacked, but succeeded in cutting his way through them.

Whilst Bonaparte was pursuing Blucher, the Prussian general Winzingerode, attacked his entrenched camp at Sissons for the protection of his army of reserve, and took near 3000 men. The grand allied army had advanced to Sens, 82 miles south-east of Paris, which was assaulted and carried. Other divisions advanced in the same direction, and by the middle of February, the allies occupied a district of about 40 miles along the Seine. Alarmed at this immense force, Victor and Oudinot who were entrusted with the defence of this important river, retired to the right bank, and destroyed the bridges, but they were soon replaced. The rapid advance of the main army of the allies, arrested the attention of Bonaparte, and induced him to hasten to oppose them. His movements were so rapid, that he appeared suddenly in the midst of them, and the allied army being greatly divided, he obtained some advantages, which induced Schwartzenburg to concentrate the whole behind the Seine.

Bonaparte considering it of great importance to secure a bridge across this river, which was defended by a large body of the enemy, made three successive attacks to gain this position, but was repulsed in each attempt. He renewed the attack the fourth time, and with such irresistible impetuosity, that he dislodged the enemy and passed over the bridge with a considerable part of his army.

On the 25th of February, immediately after he had obtained some successes, Bonaparte received the proposals of the allies for peace, which had been settled at Chatillon. He indignantly tore the papers to pie-

ces, exclaiming "I am nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris." He however proposed to keep open the negociation, and said he would present his *ultimatum* by the 10th of March. His blindness and infatuation was truly astonishing. At this period the clouds had thickened upon him, in all quarters. Dantzic, and most of his garrisons in Germany had fallen, and even Murat, his own brother-in-law, had exhibited defection, and opened his ports to the English, which entirely embarrassed the operations of Eugene in Italy. It is probable that the obstinacy of Bonaparte was in part occasioned by an expectation that Austria would withdraw from the coalition, and at any rate would not consent to any designs adverse to his crown and sovereignty.

Blucher no sooner found that he had not to contend with Bonaparte himself, than he began to advance; Oudinot and Marmont who had been left to oppose him, being unable to resist his progress. And even after Macdonald had formed a junction with them they were obliged to retreat rapidly before the old Prussian veteran. His rapid march obliged Bonaparte again to turn his attention to Blucher, as he alone was capable of obtaining any success. His marshals during this campaign, were uniformly defeated; it was only the personal exertions and prowess of Bonaparte that could make any stand against the numerous and powerful enemies with which he was overwhelmed. He was obliged to hurry from one invading enemy to another, and then back again; directing his attention where danger was most immediate. His object now was to prevent a junction between Blucher and Winzingerode; in which he did not succeed. After various partial engagements, and much manœuvring, a general and obstinate battle took place on the 9th of March at Loan. It was commenced by Bonaparte, who, taking advantage of a mist, drove the Prussians back to the very walls of Loan; but the mist disappearing, Blucher regained the ground he had lost. The contest was long and severe, particularly on the Prussian left, which was attacked under a heavy can-

nonade. Blucher reinforcing his left with two divisions, and ordering his whole line to advance, the French could not withstand the shock ; they were repulsed, thrown into confusion, and retreated towards Reims.

The negotiations at Chatillon were not yet broken off ; on the 15th Caulincourt presented Bonaparte's promised *Ultimatum*, which was instantly rejected by the allies, and the congress dissolved. Bonaparte demanded the whole line of the Rhine ; Italy for Eugene ; indemnities to his brother Jerome, for the kingdom of Westphalia : indemnities to Louis, for the Duchy of Berg, and also to Joseph for Naples.

The negotiation being at an end, Bonaparte made a desperate assault upon Blucher ; for two days he kept up incessant attacks upon that general, but making no serious impression, he moved off, towards the main allied army. He was unexpectedly attacked under the walls of Arcis, as his troops were crossing the river ; and Bonaparte escaped narrowly himself ; his horse was killed under him, and as he was rallying his men, he was obliged to defend himself with his own pistols, and escaped, but by a 'hair's breadth' from the lance of a Cossack. On the 21st the two armies were opposite each other, but Bonaparte from the immense inferiority of his force, was obliged to decline a battle, which he would not have done, had there been the least chance of success. He marched towards the north, but turned to the east, and took up a position at St. Dizier, so that on the 24th of March, he found himself exactly where he was when he opened the campaign, on the 26th of January. The object of Bonaparte in this movement, was probably to form a junction, with the army under Augerau on the Soan, and then to fall on the rear of Schwartzenberg. But Augerau had been defeated by the Austrian reserve, a force of 60,000 men, that had recently arrived in France, which had interposed itself between Augerau and Bonaparte, and rendered a junction impracticable. The design of Bonaparte in throwing himself in the rear, of the main allied army, might have been,

to intimidate them by threatening their communication with Germany, and induce them to turn and pursue him.

Whilst these events were going on, the contest was kept up between Soult and lord Wellington, in the South of France. A great battle was fought at Orthes, in which the allied troops were successful; Soult retreated first towards Bordeaux, then in the direction of Toulouse, followed by the main British army.—Bordeaux, a royal city, and always subject more or less to British influence, was the first to declare for the Bourbons; the Mayor issued a proclamation, in favour of Louis XVIII.

There is something which strongly interests our feelings, in witnessing a great man, although we may not regard his cause as just, struggling with difficulties, and sustaining himself even against the power of destiny. The efforts of Bonaparte at this momentous crisis, were worthy of his great military character.—Surrounded with enemies on all sides, and with a force inferior to each of the invading armies, from the boldness and rapidity of his movements, marching rapidly from one army of the enemy to the other, and to the points of the greatest danger, he frustrated the plans of the allies, checked their advance, obliged them to fall back, and sometimes defeated them, and obtained considerable advantages. During the campaign the allied armies, had often advanced within a short distance of Paris, but the sudden and unexpected movements of Bonaparte, had disconcerted their operations and compelled them to retrace their steps. The situation of Napoleon at this time, was such, that it was evident, nothing but some bold measure could save him; it was from this consideration probably that he was induced to throw himself into the rear of the allied armies, thereby threatening their rear, and also their communication with Germany, where Bonaparte still had many powerful garrisons, from which he might draw reinforcements. From the boldness of this measure, and the surprise which it would be likely to occasion, he was in hopes to dis-

concert the plan of his enemies, which evidently was, to press rapidly towards Paris. But the manœuvre did not succeed: the allies knew their strength and the weakness of Bonaparte; disregarding his position in their rear, they pressed on for Paris. The grand allied army consisted of 200,000 men.

Bonaparte, learning that his movement in the rear of the allied armies produced no effect, but that they were advancing rapidly towards the capital, resolved to hasten back to its relief with all possible expedition.

On the 28th and 29th of March, the allies passed the Mearn near Meaux, and in the night of the 29th, Mortier, one of Bonaparte's generals, entered Paris, where he found 8000 regulars, and 30,000 national guards. On approaching the capital, the allies issued a proclamation, assuring the inhabitants of protection, and forwarded a flag requesting the surrender of the city, but it was refused admittance. The defence of the city was entrusted to Marmont, who had under his command the national guard of the city, and such other troops as could be spared, which were increased by the troops of general Mortier. Marmont had taken a position on the heights Montmartre and Belville in the vicinity of Paris; the allies instantly determined to attack the positions of the French; the grand army moved against the heights at Belville, and Blucher against Montmartre; both of which, after a most desperate defence, were carried, and the French driven from their positions, with the loss of a considerable proportion of their cannon. The victorious allies looked down on the lofty domes and spires of Paris! Marshal Marmont, perceiving no chance of saving the capital, sent a flag of truce, proposing an armistice, which was granted. A capitulation followed, and the next day the allied troops entered the French capital, where royalty had been so long proscribed, amidst the acclamations of a small portion of the populace, who were "all things by turns, and nothing long."

Before these events had taken place, Bonaparte had

reached Fontainebleau, and sent Caulincourt to the Emperor Alexander, but the latter declined to receive any message from him. The Emperor Alexander, on entering the city took up his quarters at the house of Talleyrand. The ex-priest, who was a true clerical Swiss, "ready to serve any God or man," if for his own interest, at the instance of Alexander, assembled *Bonaparte's* senate on the 1st of April; which the next day passed a decree, declaring that Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited the throne of France; and absolving the people and army from all allegiance to him. A provisional government was established, consisting of Talleyrand, Montesquieu, Jaucout, Bournonville and the Duke of Berry.

Bonaparte having since the 29th pushed forward towards Paris, had by forced marches passed through Sens, Fontainebleau, and reached Suvisy, which is within four leagues of the capital. From here, he dispatched an aid-de-camp to Paris, and exhausted with fatigue and anxiety, he lay down on a bed in the village inn, and slept soundly. Before dawn the next morning, (the 31st,) he set out for Paris, with a few attendants in a carriage and four horses; before he reached there, he met a messenger who informed him that the capitulation was signed. He instantly turned about and hastened to Fontainebleau, to collect and unite the wreck of his scattered army, and to attempt to form a junction with the troops which had evacuated Paris, and were falling back on the Loire.

"On the 4th April, Bonaparte reviewed the troops at Fontainebleau, and the marshals and generals having heard of the revolution which had taken place at Paris, conferred together, and spoke so loud, that Napoleon heard them. He affected, however, not to listen, and the review being ended, marshal Ney entered the palace with him, and followed him to the cabinet. He asked him if he knew of the great revolution that had happened at Paris. Bonaparte answered that he knew nothing of it. Ney then handed him the Paris newspapers. He seemed to be reading them with attention in order to gain time for an answer. Marshal Lefeb-

vre entered, and said with an animated accent to the ci-devant emperor—"You are lost! you would not listen to the advice of any of your old servants: the senate has pronounced your destination." These words made so awful an impression upon the man who was accustomed to regard himself as above all laws, that he burst into a flood of tears. After some moments of reflection, he wrote an abdication in favour of his son. Afterwards he proposed to march for Italy with the 20,000 men he had at Fontainebleau, and join Prince Eugene. He repeated several times—"If I arrive, I am certain of being acknowledged by all Italy." He again reviewed his troops, and his countenance was pale and altered. He remained only eight or ten minutes upon parade, and having re-entered the palace, sent for the duke of Reggio, and asked whether the troops would follow him? "No sir!" answered Victor, "You have abdicated." To which Bonaparte replied, "Yes—but upon certain conditions." Victor replied—"The soldiers will not understand such subtleties. They believe that you can no longer command them."

"Every thing is said, then, which can be said upon this project. Let us wait for news from Paris," said Bonaparte."

The struggle in the mind of Bonaparte, so long accustomed to almost absolute authority, which separated him from power, was as great as that by which ordinary individuals are separated from life. But as he always seemed to believe in a destiny by which he was governed, he probably concluded, that destiny had at last separated himself and greatness.

He first resolved to abdicate in favour of his son, himself to be regent; so anxious was he to retain some hold upon sovereign power. On the night of the 4th of April, Ney and several other marshals were dispatched with this proposal to the allied powers; but no notice was taken of it.

"The marshals who had been sent to Paris, returned, and Ney entered the first.

"Have you succeeded?" asked Bonaparte.

"Partly, sir," answered Ney; "but not as to the regency. Revolutions never go backwards. This has taken its course; it was too late; the Senate will to-morrow acknowledge the Bourbons."

"Where, then, am I to live, with my family?"

"Where your majesty pleases: in the island of Elba, for example—and with a pension of six millions."

"Six millions! that's a great deal, since I am now nothing but a soldier. I see I must resign myself. I bid adieu to all my companions in arms." Having said this, he was silent."

On the following day he abdicated, in these terms: "The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oaths, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France."

On the 11th, a treaty was signed by the ministers of the Allied powers, and Ney and Caulincourt on the part of Bonaparte, whereby he was permitted to retain the title of Emperor, invested with full sovereignty of the Island of Elba; a revenue of two millions of francs assigned him, and two millions in various proportions to his mother, brothers and sisters. The payment of these sums was charged upon the great book of France. The long agony was at length over, and the sun of Bonaparte's glory set—not to rise no more—it was destined to rise once more, and after a short but effulgent day, to set in darkness and blood—never to rise again. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

The man whose word had long been law,—whose name was a terror to all Europe—who had made and unmade kings, and who disposed of states and provinces with nearly the same ease and unconcern as children do playthings in their pastimes, was fallen so low from his proud eminence, that there was now "none so poor as to do him reverence."

In this hour of trial and affliction nearly all his friends and partizans forsook him, and declared for the Bourbons ; among the number were Talleyrand, Lebrun, Roger Ducos, Barthelemy, Seiyes, Bournonville, Kellerman, Savary, Murat, Caulincourt, and nearly all the functionaries of France.

Many had good cause for deserting Bonaparte, as he had betrayed them, and the cause of liberty, and the best-interest of France, which they were endeavouring to sustain ; others who were the creatures of his power, whom " his breath could ruin as a breath had made," were guilty of great ingratitude in deserting their fallen master in his misfortunes. But even the latter class might perhaps plead that they only acted up the principles in which they had been instructed in his new school of politics. It is the maxim of many politicians not to join that party which is most just, but that which will best promote their objects ; to desert the weak and unite with the strong ;—" to worship the rising sun in preference to that whose course is run."

The provisional government issued an address to the people of France ; and on the 6th of April the conservative Senate published a constitution, restoring the ancient monarchy in the family of the Bourbons. The constitution was to be submitted to the acceptance of the people, and sworn to by the king. The count d'Artois, brother of Louis 18th, was presented to the senate by Talleyrand, with a very complimentary speech, to which he made an appropriate reply.

In the meantime, Louis 18th having quit his retirement in England, embarked at Dover for Calais, to take upon him the government of a country from which for more than twenty years he had been expelled, and dared not set his foot upon its soil. He was welcomed at Calais, but his reception at the capital was very far from being gratifying ; there were some acclamations from the populace, but they did not produce a response from the soldiery. When he came

to the palace of his fathers, a crowd collected, who shouted "long live the king! long live our father." The new order of things went on smoothly, the political oil which had so long served the wheels of Bonaparte's state chariot, was now copiously poured upon the axles of that of Louis 18th. Bonaparte himself had put an end to the war and hatred against royalty, though he kept alive the hatred against the Bourbons. But that was put down by the bayonets of the allies, and the man who had long been execrated and all his family, now suddenly became *Louis le desire!*

"O heaven! that one might read the book of fate,
And see the revolution of the times;
Make mountains level, and the continent,
Weary of solid firmness, melt itself
Into the sea."

The ci-devant emperor of France remained at Fontainebleau, a number of days after the definitive arrangements with the allied sovereigns were settled. He suffered some from indisposition, occasioned by anxiety and fatigue. For three weeks previous to the capitulation of Paris, it is said that he did not scarcely quit his horse, whereby his limbs had become so swollen that he was unable to dismount, and that whenever it became necessary to relieve his horses, he was obliged to be lifted from one to the other.

At length, on the 20th of April, after taking a most affectionate leave of his "comrades in arms," he set out from Fontainebleau for the coast, and from thence for Elba, his destined empire. Commissioners in behalf of the allied sovereigns were appointed to attend him. They made a detailed report, containing a minute account of all the circumstances attending the journey to the sea-board. They represented that the populace in general manifested great indignation against the fallen emperor, and that at several places their fury was so great that they even threatened to assault the carriage, and poured forth the most insulting and abusive language upon the object of their vengeance. At Orgon, where they passed, the populace behaved most outrageously. They had erected a gallows, and suspended thereon an effigy of the fallen

emperor, to which was attached a paper with these words : " Such, soon or late, will be the lot of the Tyrant." Bonaparte is represented to have borne the taunts, insults and reproaches which he experienced with great fortitude and composure.

CHAPTER XV.

The effects of the revolution, and the imperial government of France upon Europe....The public sentiment occasioned by the overthrow of Bonaparte, in Europe and in America....The fallen emperor at Elba....Causes which led Bonaparte to hazard a return to France....The embarkation from Elba....his proclamation to the army and people of France.

THE complete overthrow of the mighty fabric of Bonaparte's power, whose towering dimensions once cast a shade over the whole continent, is one of the most astonishing events in history. Its effects, political and moral, were felt, not only in every part of Europe, but throughout the civilized world. Upon the continent, where his power was immediately established, and existed, it was in the political world, what a mighty convulsion of nature would be in the natural world, agitating all its component elements, shaking every thing to its centre, throwing mighty mountains from their base, and oceans from their coral beds. Bonaparte had in a great measure established a *new order of things* throughout Europe : he had formed and modelled society, partly upon new principles, and entirely with a view to new objects, he had made and unmade Sovereigns ; enlarged and curtailed states and kingdoms ; broken up old boundaries, and formed new ones : turned and overturned, and cut and carved as he pleased : in fine, he had managed with a considerable part of the continent, as a judicious and enterprising agriculturist does with a farm recently acquired, and which had been in the occupation of a sloven-

ly and negligent husbandman, overhauling and repairing the buildings, making new divisions and allotments, restoring the decayed fences in some places, erecting new ones in others, grubbing up hedges, breaking up sward grounds, seeding down worn out arable lands, and changing the whole face and appearance of the farm.

But the inroads, which Bonaparte had made upon the territorial order and arrangement of Europe, was not half so grievous, as the changes he had effected in the social order. The Revolution had overthrown the privileges, prerogatives, and revenues of the nobility and clergy of France and Italy; and Bonaparte, from the elements of the revolution, gradually formed a new state of social order, partly upon different principles, and entirely from new materials. As his power grew out of the Revolution, he was disposed to regard that as *legitimate*, and to sanction all its effects and consequences but one, and that was the object of all the rest, *civil liberty*. He was willing to promote the consequences and the minor objects of the revolution, but the principal object stood in the way of his ambition. He encouraged the hatred of the people towards royalty, as it respected the Bourbons, and towards nobility and aristocracy, so far as related to the *old* nobles and aristocracy; but at the same time that he encouraged these sentiments, he was establishing a *new* royalty, nobility, and aristocracy, from the materials of the revolution. The reestablishment of Monarchy, and a nobility in France, and the other countries subject to Bonaparte, from new materials, did not tend to allay the hostility of the old aristocrats and royalists, but rather to increase it. The revolutionists had destroyed royalty and nobility, because they considered them wrong in *principle*, and inconsistent with the *rights of the people*; yet Bonaparte whilst he recognized the principle by establishing a *new nobility*, to the entire exclusion of the *old*, rendered the injustice to them the more conspicuous. To behold upstarts and mushrooms, sprung from the hot bed of the revolution, enjoy the places, honours and emolu-

ments, which they had formerly enjoyed, and which they regarded as belonging to them, aggravated their feelings and wounded their pride much more, than to see those places, honours and emoluments entirely abolished, as they were during the revolution. The restoration of the monarchy and nobility therefore, by Bonaparte, rather increased than softened the bitterness of the old royalists and aristocrats. His *new batches* of nobility, not only in France, but in the other countries, over which his power extended, had taken the places of the old, and almost an entire new state of social order, had been established ; power and honour having sprung from a new fountain, had flowed in different channels, and received entirely new repositories.

The overthrow of Bonaparte, destroyed the new order of things, which he had established throughout Europe ; the fountain being removed, the streams at once become dry ; and the former state of social order, was expected to be established ; but this did not take place, as the Sovereigns of the great allied powers, found that they could 'cut and carve' territory, and divide the spoils of conquest, as well as Bonaparte.

That the overthrow of Bonaparte, should have occasioned great joy in Europe, with all who from interest or prejudice, were attached to the old order of things is natural enough ; and even that the *people* there, should have been persuaded that *their rights*, would be restored by it, cannot be a matter of much surprise ; notwithstanding that the innovation which he had made, had broken up the causes of many old abuses and tended to raise the people from their degraded condition. Yet they had so often been told of French despotism, and of the usurpations and tyranny of Bonaparte, that they were almost persuaded to believe that their old masters were of a different character, and that they enjoyed great freedom under the old regime. At any rate the overthrow of Bonaparte put an end to the war which had so long prevailed,

which relieved the people from the oppressions which that occasioned.

It cannot be a matter of surprise that the joy was general and great throughout Europe, at the fall of Bonaparte; yet it is truly astonishing that this event should have been received with raptures by any one in the United States, engaged as we then were in a desperate struggle with Great Britain. But the fact was so. Such is often the infatuation of mortals and the obliquity of human reason.

This event was hailed by many as the destruction of despotism,—the overthrow of a power dangerous to the independence and liberties of the civilized world; and as restoring “*the venerable institutions*” of Europe.

Whilst Great Britain, elated with pride at the overthrow of Bonaparte, and from the vast disposable force which this event gave her, talked about reducing the Americans to “unconditional submission,” and of recolonizing the country; some of the violent and hot-headed politicians at home, were calling on the citizens of this free and enlightened country, to rejoice at an event which threatened their independence, and exposed them to the whole military and naval power of Great Britain.

Celebrations were got up; orations delivered; speeches made; sermons preached; newspapers teemed; Americans! republicans! were *congratulated* on the subjugation of the enemy of their enemy;—on the restoration of *legitimate* monarchs—the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon, of the Pope, the inquisition, the hierarchy, and all the ‘venerable’ institutions of Europe.

Had we not been in a state of hostilities with Great Britain, the overthrow of the dominion of Bonaparte might justly have been considered as a joyful event by the free-born and free-bred sons of America, regarding it as a usurpation, not of the rights of “*legitimate kings*,” or “*christian kings*,”—but of the rights of the PEOPLE—the only legitimate sovereigns which the people of the United States should recognise; although

the government must acknowledge in its foreign relations the existing sovereignty of all nations, in whatever shape it may appear. France having attempted to establish a free government, it might be a proper subject of joy with the friends of liberty here and through the world, that the man who had betrayed the rights of the people and the sacred cause of civil liberty, and established a monarchial and aristocratical despotism, from the revolutionary elements of freedom, should be punished; and that another example should not be furnished of the growth of despotic power, out of the revolutionary struggles of a nation to establish its freedom. But it is difficult to conceive how Americans, and the friends of civil liberty, could rejoice at the re-establishment of the feudal monarchies of Europe, the ancient aristocracy and hierarchy, the pope and the holy inquisition, or at the success of a *holy league*, the professed object of which was to support the pretensions of legitimacy, and the *rights of kings*, against the *rights of man!* doctrines, subversive of the principles of our revolution, and which render that glorious struggle a *rebellion*, against a "*legitimate and christian king.*"

The island of Elba is situated in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Tuscany; it is 25 or 30 leagues in circumference, and contained a population of near 14,000 souls. The mighty emperor of France and conqueror of Europe, on this little island, was like his genius of liberty sailing in a shell on the vast expanse of the ocean. To think to confine the mighty mind of Bonaparte, and that ambition for which the whole world had scarcely been large enough, within such a narrow empire, without actual force, was almost as absurd, as it would have been, to have brought him to *trial*, before a *Justice of the Peace*. He remained here from the first of May to the latter part of February. However he may have bestowed his attention to the concerns of his small empire, and whatever may have been his ostensible occupations during this period, there can be no doubt but that his eyes were constantly fixed on his "beloved France," and that his mind was continu-

ally exercised upon the subject of regaining his lost power and greatness.

But the causes of that revolution, which placed him once more upon the throne of France, are as mysterious as its character is astonishing and unprecedented.

This revolution is a phenomenon in the political world ; it is not only without any example, but the history of human affairs, furnishes no event, which bears any likeness, or similarity to it. Many of the greatest and best men of Greece, were exiled by the Ostracism, by the influence of opposing factions, or a gust of popular phrenzy, and were afterwards recalled. Marius, who had become an exile, and as powerless as Bonaparte at Elba, retrieved his fortunes and returned to Rome, but he entered the city at the head of an army collected abroad, and the best blood of Rome, testified to the cruelties, and honours of his triumph. Instead of the whole population of the city, going out to welcome his return, it was filled with consternation and gloom.

These examples, or any other on record afford no similarity to the astonishing revolution, which reinstated the exile of Elba, on the throne of France, and expelled from the same the *legitimate* Sovereign, who had been placed there by half a million foreign bayonets.

As we have already observed, the immediate causes of this revolution, are involved in great uncertainty, and darkness. It is even doubtful whether Napoleon had had any communication with France, previously to his embarking in this extraordinary enterprise ; and it is altogether probable that he had no definite arrangements made, and no specific information or assurance of the support which he received after his arrival.

There can be no doubt, however but that he was acquainted generally, with the situation of France, with the state of the public mind, and with those causes and circumstances, which would be likely to operate in his favour. He knew that he had long

been, the idol of the army, that he was endeared to the soldiers by a thousand recollections, by a thousand triumphs, by their mutual toils and honours, by innumerable victories, and by the glories of twenty years of successful war ; he was sensible that all these considerations, attached the soldiers to him, and he did not believe that their attachments could be obliterated. A portion of the people too, he was satisfied were attached to him ; and all true Frenchmen to the glory of France, which he had promoted, and raised to the highest pitch.

It is probable too, that he had been advised of the indignant feelings of the soldiers, at the degradation of their country, and their own ; feelings, which were constantly aggravated by considering their king as forced upon them by *foreigners*, by the presence of foreign troops among them ; by frequent collisions with them, and by the return and insolence of the old royalists. The prisoners, who had returned from England, Russia, and Prussia, amounting to about 150,000 men, felt still stronger prejudices against the new order of things, brought about by the enemies of their country, from the sufferings and misfortunes, to which they had been exposed. But what operated most, on the minds of the soldiers, was the mortifying reflection *that France, after so many years of triumphs and glories, had apparently been conquered by her enemies*. This reflection, sunk deep into their hearts, wounded their pride : and they were anxious to wipe away this stigma.

The return and imprudent zeal, and high pretensions of the old royalists, occasioned great indignation, and alarmed the constitutionalists ; and the republicans, who had been disaffected under Bonaparte, were still more so under Louis. Those interested in the national domains, became alarmed for their property. From these various causes, the public mind was generally agitated, and disaffection extensively prevailed. The admirers of Bonaparte felt degraded and indignant at the humiliating condition of their country ;

and those, with the exception of the old royalists, who were opposed to the tyranny of Bonaparte, were still more opposed to Louis, as the glory and power of France under the former, afforded some consolation for the oppression which the nation suffered. But under Louis they beheld France weak and contemptible ; degraded at home and abroad, without liberty and without power.

Napoleon was acquainted with these facts ; and he may have had a correspondence with some of his old officers upon the subject of his return to France.

It has been said that during the winter, the soldiers were so well assured of his return, that they commemorated him over their cups, by the name of corporal *Violet*, alluding to the approaching spring when this event was expected to take place. But it would be a very absurd thing to suppose, that if a conspiracy against Louis, had taken place at Paris, and the conspirators had opened a correspondence with the exiled chief, and invited him to return, that it should have been communicated to the common soldiers !

There is no evidence that any conspiracy had been formed, or any arrangements made between Bonaparte, and any of his friends in France.

This wonderful enterprise, probably originated with the exile of Elba *alone*, it was carried into effect and consummated by him *alone*, by his own *personal exertions and influence*. Louis, possessing all the advantages of *legitimacy*, and beloved as he was by the French nation, as it was affirmed, who had been placed upon the throne, by half a million foreign soldiers, was *expelled from it by ONE MAN*, and without shedding one drop of blood, or firing a single gun !

The emperor had made all his arrangements for this great enterprise in such perfect secrecy, that no one had any knowledge, or even suspicion of it, except those to whom he had communicated his designs. For several days previous to his embarking, an embargo had been laid on the vessels in the port.

The joy of the soldiers on learning that their destination was France, exceeded all bounds ; they jump-

ed, ran about and embraced each other, like persons deprived of their senses. Napoleon's mother and sister, the princess Paulina, with eyes suffused with tears, beheld from the windows of the palace, the interesting and impressive spectacle, of so many brave and united hearts, animated by one soul ; transported by the same sentiments, impelled by a common impulse, engaging in an enterprise so wonderful, so novel, so momentous—upon the issue of which, the fate of the Emperor, their own, his brave followers, and perhaps that of France, hung suspended. How deeply they were impressed by the scene, and how much they were affected by the noble devotion of these faithful adherents to the cause of the Emperor, they expressed by waving of handkerchiefs, and all the signs they were able to make visible at so great a distance ; but the brave Spartan phalanx, ready to hazard their lives in an enterprise apparently more forlorn than that of Thermopylæ, and animated to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, answered their expressions, by repeated cries of, *Paris or Death !*

The shores were lined with the inhabitants, many of whom by this time, knew that they were about to lose their Emperor and benefactor—the air resounded with shouts of *long live the Emperor !*

General Lapi, Chamberlain to his majesty, who had been appointed governor of the island, issued the following proclamation :

“Inhabitants of the island of Elba ! our august sovereign, recalled by providence to the career of glory, has been induced to leave your island, of which he has left me in command. The administration will be composed of a junto of six inhabitants, and the defence of the fortress is committed to your devotion and bravery.

“I am about to depart from the island of Elba, (said he,) I am much pleased with the conduct of its inhabitants. I leave to them the defence of this country, to which I attach the highest value. I cannot give them a greater proof of my confidence, than by leaving under their protection my mother and my

ister. The members of the junta, and the inhabitants generally, may rely on my good offices, and special protection."

At eight in the morning of the 26th of February, 1815, the Emperor went on board the brig; and counts Bertrand, Drouet, and the superior officers who had accompanied him to the Island, embarked in the *Inconstant*. As his majesty came on board, a gun was fired, as a signal for departure, and they immediately set sail. He had prepared the following proclamations to the *army*, and the *people* of France, which breathed forth the very soul of their author. They were published and extensively circulated, on his reaching the shores of France.

GULF OF JUAN, 1st of March, 1815.

Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the state, emperor of the French, &c.

TO THE ARMY.

Soldiers! We have not been vanquished. Two men, deserting our ranks, have betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

Those whom we have seen, during five and twenty years, traversing all Europe to excite enemies against us, who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies while loading with curses our beautiful France; shall they pretend to command and enchain our eagles; they who have never dared to encounter the sight of them? Shall we suffer them to inherit the fruits of our glorious achievements; to engross our honors; our wealth; to calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, every thing would be lost, even the remembrance of those immortal victories. With what fury do they pervert them! They endeavour to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is amongst those very enemies whom we have encountered on the field of battle.

Soldiers! In my exile I have heard your voice, I have arrived in spite of every obstacle, and every danger. Your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and borne on your shields, is restored to

you. Come and join him. Tear off those colors which the nation has proscribed, and which during twenty-five years served as a rallying point to all the enemies of France. Assume this three-colored cockade—you wore it during our days of victory.

We should forget that we have been the masters of nations ; but we ought not to suffer any other nation to intermeddle with our affairs.

Who shall pretend to be master among us ? Who has the power ? Re-assume those eagles, which were yours at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Judella, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensk, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Think you, that this handful of Frenchmen, now so arrogant, would venture to encounter the sight of them ? Let them return from whence they came, and there, if they choose, let them reign, as they have pretended to reign during nineteen years.

Your property, your rank, and your glory, the property, the rank, and the glory of your children, have no greater enemies than those princes whom strangers have imposed upon us. They are the enemies of our glory ; and their condemnation is sealed by the recital of so many heroic deeds, which have immortalized the French people while struggling to throw off their yoke.

The veterans of the armies of the Sombre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the west, and of the grand army, are all humbled : the glory of their wounds is tarnished, their victories are crimes, these brave men are rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, legitimate sovereigns were found in the midst of foreign armies.

They bestow honours, rewards, their affections, on those who have served against their country and against us.

Soldiers !—Rally under the standard of your chief. His existence is yours. His rights are no other than those of the people and yours. His interest, his honor, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honor

and your glory. Victory shall march with the rapidity of an army rushing to the combat. The eagle with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, until it reaches the towers of Notre Dame ; then you may show with pride your wounds ; then you may boast of your achievements. You will be the saviours of your country. In your old age, surrounded by your fellow citizens, they will hear you with respect relating your exploits. You will have it in your power, to say with pride, " And, also, I was one of that Grand Army which twice entered the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow ; and which rescued Paris from the disgrace which treason and the presence of the enemy had enstamped upon it."

Honor to these brave soldiers, the glory of the country ! Eternal shame to those criminal Frenchmen, in whatever rank or station they may have been born, who for five and twenty years have fought under foreign banners to tear the bosom of their country.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

The grand marshal, exercising the functions of major general to the grand army. BERTRAND.

Proclamation of his majesty the emperor of France.

AT GULPH JUAN, March 1, 1815.

Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the state, emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.—*Frenchmen,* The defection of the duke of Castiglione (Augereau) delivered Lyons, without defence, to our enemies. The army, the command of which I had confided to him, was, by the number of the battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, able to beat the corps of the Austrian army which was opposed to it, and to fall upon the rear of the left flank of the enemy's army, which menaced Paris.

The victories of Chump Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vaucamp, of Mormans, of Monterau, of Graone, of Rheims, of Arcis-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier, the insurrection of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Compte, and of

Burgundy ; and the position which I had taken in the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys, and from all its baggage, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful ; and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource ; it had found its grave in those vast countries, which it had sacked in such an un pitying manner, when the treason of the duke of Ragusa (Marmont) delivered up the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of these two generals, which betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the fate of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the end of the affair, which took place before Paris, it was without munitions, in consequence of its separation from its parks of reserve.

Under these novel and great circumstances, my heart was rent to pieces, but my soul remained immovable. I only consulted the interests of the country ; I exiled myself to a rock in the midst of the seas ; my life was and would be still useful to you : I would not permit, that the great number of citizens who wished to accompany me, partaking of my fate, should do so ; I believed their presence useful to France, and I only took with me a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is unlawful. For twenty-five years past, France has had new interests, new institutions, a new glory, which could only be guaranteed by a national government, and by a dynasty born under those new circumstances. A prince who will reign over you, who will sit on my throne, by the force of the same armies which have ravaged our territory, will seek in vain to support himself by the principles of the feudal law ; he could not assure the honor and the rights but of a small number of individuals, enemies to the people, who, twenty-five years ago, had condemned them in all their national assemblies. Your internal

tranquility and your external reputation would have been lost forever.

Frenchmen! in my exile I have heard your complaints and your wishes; you call back that government of your own choice which alone is legitimate. You blamed my long slumber, you reproached me with sacrificing to my ease the greatest interests of the country.

I have traversed the seas amidst dangers of every kind; I arrived among you to resume my rights, which are your own. Whatever individuals have done, written or said, since the capture of Paris, I will remain forever ignorant of. That will have no influence upon the recollection which I cherish of the important services which they have rendered; for events of such a nature, are above human control.

Frenchmen! there is no nation, however inconsiderable, which has not had the right, and has not been subjected to the dishonor, of obeying a prince imposed by an enemy who is victorious for a season. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry VI. he determined to hold his throne by the valour of his brave men, and not by that of the prince regent of England. It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, I give, and will always give, the glory of my being indebted for every thing.

NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER XVI.

Napoleon appears in a new character....A detail of his expedition from Elba to Paris....His entry into the capital....Louis flies from Paris....Several decrees issued at Lyons....He determines the functions of the house of Peers....His declaration to the French people....His old marshals and friends flock to Paris, and give in their adhesion....All France, except Bordeaux and Toulon, declare for him....He organizes a ministry....The council of state address the Emperor....The allied sovereigns at Vienna....They declare him an outlaw....The different causes of the coalitions against France....The preposterous principles of the allied sovereigns.

We have seen Napoleon Bonaparte, at the head of armies, conquering kingdoms, and giving law to empires, he now appears to us in a new character, of *himself*, by his own *personal influence*, driving the *Bourbons* from the throne of France, though seated there by the power of half a million of armed men. Cossacks, Russians, Prussians, Austrians, English, Dutch, Germans, Portuguese, Spaniards, Bavarians, Saxons, &c. &c. and all this was accomplished without the loss of one drop of blood!! The *Exile of Elba*, the ridicule and laughing stock of *Englishmen*, became the *first legitimate Emperor of France*. Millions of millions of times has it been said, (and most persons from the frequent repetition of the falsehood, believed it) that *Bonaparte* was hated by the French people, that they were grateful to the *foreigners*, who gave them a king, that they happily "reposed in the arms of their legitimate sovereign." What is the fact?—He appears, the whole country rises to support his claims to the throne, and expel the "*usurper*" the kingling of *foreigners*. If ever there was a "*legitimate king*" (which we very much doubt,) that king was *Napoleon Bonaparte*, for the *people* on this occasion *willed*, freely and frankly, that he should have the supreme authority."

Whatever we may think of *particular* acts of tyranny, or projects of ambition, of this extraordinary man, the fact now appears manifest, that, in *general*, he

was the benefactor of France. The destruction of his wars was terrible to think of, but the great body of the people at home, were happy and content, in peace and plenty; the means to acquire which were astonishingly facilitated, by the immense and magnificent public works, that were planned and executed under his orders. He did more to assist the *agriculture* and *manufactures* of France, and promote a *home trade*, an hundred times more important than any foreign commerce that France ever had, in five years, though so deeply engaged in war, than the Bourbons had done in a century. The people were relieved from the monstrous impositions, and horrible oppressions, of the ancient *nobility and clergy*; the terror of a repetition of which no doubt contributed to his "restoration." It is more than probable, also, that the lawlessness of the *imperial carvers*, assembled, or represented at Vienna, may have had a full share in bringing about this extraordinary event. They talked about the ambition of *Bonaparte*, they "gaped at gnats and swallowed camels;" even Alexander, whose sceptre extends over a country larger than all Europe, wanted and would have, "peaceably if he could, violently if he must," *a little more territory*.

But whatever difference of opinion may exist, the story of his landing upon the shores of France, his subsequent march of 600 miles to Paris, and his final reassumption of Imperial dignities, without the shedding of a single drop of blood, will excite the wonder, and admiration of all. The *Moniteur* gave the following detailed account of his expedition from Elba to Paris.

"The emperor, informed that the people in France had lost all their rights obtained by twenty-five years of battles and of victories, and that the army was attached to its glory, determined to change this state of things, to re-establish the Imperial throne which alone can guarantee the rights of the nation, and to extinguish this royal throne which the people had proscribed as not securing the interests but of a small number of individuals.

The 26th February, at 5 o'clock in the evening, he embarked in a brig of 26 guns with 400 men of his guard. Three other vessels were in the harbor, and (which were seized) received on board 200 men, infantry, 100 Poland light horse and the battalion of flankers, 200 strong. The wind was southerly and appeared favorable. Captain Choulard hoped that before day-break the island of Capua would be doubled, and that we should be off the cruising ground of the French and English who watched this coast.— This hope was baffled. We had hardly doubled Cape St. Andrew of the island of Elba, before the wind lulled so that it became calm; at day-break we had only made six leagues, and we were still between the islands of Capua and Elba, in sight of the cruisers.

The danger appeared imminent. Many seafaring persons were of opinion that it was absolutely necessary to return to Porto Ferrajo. The emperor gave orders to keep on their course, having, in the last extremity, the plan of going among the French cruisers. The squadron was composed of two frigates and a brig; but we well knew that the attachment of their crews to the national glory did not leave a doubt that they would hoist the tri-colored flag and range themselves on our side. Towards noon the wind freshened a little. At 4 P. M. we descried the mountains of Leghorn. A frigate hove in sight five leagues to leeward, another was on the coast of Corsica, and at a distance we saw a man of war. At six o'clock, P. M. the brig on board of which was the emperor, saw a brig which we knew to be the *Zephyr*, captain Andrieux, an officer distinguished as much by his talents as his patriotism. It was at first suggested to speak to the brig and make her hoist the tri-colored flag. The emperor, however, gave orders to the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps, and to lay down on deck, preferring to pass the brig without making ourselves known, and leaving the plan of making her change her flag only in case we were obliged to do it. The two brigs passed close to each other. Lieutenant Taillade of the French marine, was well known to captain

Andrieux, and when able we hailed her. We asked captain Andrieux whether he had any commands for Genoa ; several civilities were exchanged, and the two brigs going opposite ways, were soon out of sight, without any suspicion on the part of the captain of the *Zephyr*, what this frail vessel contained !

In the night of the 27th and 28th, the wind increased. At day-break we saw a 74 gun ship, who appeared to be steering for St. Florence or Sardinia. We soon observed that this vessel paid no attention to the brig.

The 28th, at 7 o'clock in the morning, we descried the coast of Noli, at noon Antibes. At 3 o'clock the 1st of March, we entered the Gulph of Juan.

The emperor ordered the captain of the guard with 25 men, to land before the rest of the soldiers on board the brig, to secure the battery of the coast, if one was to be found. This captain, of his own accord, conceived the idea of making the battalion which was in Antibes, change cockades. He threw himself imprudently into the place ; the officer who commanded for the king, raised the draw-bridges and shut the gates : the garrison flew to arms ; but it respected these old soldiers and their cockade, which they venerated. Nevertheless, the operations of the captain failed, and his men remained prisoners in Antibes.

At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the landing in the Gulph of Juan was completed. We encamped on the sea shore until the moon rose.

At 11 o'clock at night the emperor put himself at the head of this handful of heroes, to whose fate was attached such high destinies.

Proceeding to Cannes, from thence to Grasse, and by St. Vallier, he arrived in the evening of the 2nd at the village of Ceneron, having travelled the 1st day, 20 leagues. The people of Cannes received the emperor with those sentiments, which were the first pre-sage of the success of the enterprize. The 3d, the emperor slept at Bareme ; the 4th he dined at Digne. From Castellane to Digne, and in all the department of the Lower Alps, the peasants, informed of the route

of the emperor, flocked from all quarters to the road, and manifested their sentiments with an energy which no longer left any doubts.

The 5th, general Cambronne, with an advanced guard of 40 grenadiers, took possession of the bridge and fortress of Sisteron.

The same day the emperor slept at Gap, with ten light horse and 40 grenadiers.

The enthusiasm with which the presence of the emperor inspired the inhabitants of the Lower Alps; the hatred which they bore to the nobility, sufficiently marked the general wish of the province of Dauphiny. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th, the whole population of the city was on the road he took.

At St. Bonnet, the inhabitants seeing the small number of his troops, and giving way to their fears, proposed to the emperor to sound the tocsin, to call together the villagers to accompany him in a body. "No," said the emperor, your sentiments convince me that I am not deceived in my calculations. They are for me a pledge of the sentiments of my soldiers. Those whom I shall meet will range themselves on my side; the more numerous they are, the more my success will be assured. Remain tranquil then in your houses."

Many thousand proclamations were printed at Gap, addressed by the emperor to the army and the people, and by the soldiers of the guard to their brother soldiers. These proclamations were spread with the rapidity of lightning throughout the department of Dauphiny.

The same day the emperor slept at Gorp. The 40 men of the advanced guard of general Cambronne went and slept as far as Mure. They met the advanced guard of a division of six thousand regular troops, who left Grenoble to stop their progress. General Cambronne wished to talk to the advanced posts.— They answered him that they had orders to have no communication with them. Nevertheless, this advanced guard of the division of Grenoble fell back three leagues and took post between the lakes of the village

of ———. The emperor, informed of this circumstance, proceeded to the spot ; he found on the opposite line a battalion of the 5th regulars, a company of sappers, a company of miners, in all from 7 to 800 men. He sent his officer in waiting, the chief of the troops Roul, to make known to those men the news of his arrival, but this officer could not be heard—they constantly telling him of the positive orders they had to hold no correspondence with them. The emperor alighted, and went forthwith to the battalion, followed by the imperial guard with their arms reversed. He made himself known and said, that the first soldier who wished to kill his emperor might do it, the unanimous shout of *live the emperor !* was their answer. This brave regiment had been under the orders of the emperor from his first campaigns in Italy. The guard and the soldiers kissed each other. The soldiers of the 5th tore out their cockade, and took with enthusiasm and with tears in their eyes, the tri-colored cockade. When they were mustered the emperor said to them, “ I come with a handful of brave men, because I reckon on the people and on you ; the throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate, because it was not raised by the nation ; it is contrary to the national will, because it is opposed to the interests of our country, and exists only in the interests of some families. Ask your fathers, ask all those inhabitants who arrive here from the country round : you will learn from their own mouths the real situation of things ; they are threatened with the return of the tenths, of the privileges of the feudal rights, and of all those abuses from which your successes had delivered you ; is it not true, peasants ? ” “ Yes sire,” cried they with an unanimous shout “ they wanted to bind us to the land. You come, like an angel of the Lord, to save us ! ”

The heroes of the battation of the 5th requested to march the first on the division which covered Grenoble. They began their march in the midst of a multitude of inhabitants who increased every instant. Vizille distinguished itself by its enthusiasm : “ It is here that the revolution was born, said these faithful peo-

ple ! It is we who were the first to reclaim the privileges of men ! it is still on this spot where French liberty again springs up, and where France recovers her honour and independence."

Although oppressed with fatigue, the emperor was anxious to enter Grenoble that evening. Between Vizille and Grenoble a young officer of the 7th regiment came to announce that colonel Labedoyere, actuated by the noblest sentiments, and hurt at the dishonor with which France was stained, would abandon the division of troops of Grenoble, and would come by a forced march to meet the emperor with his regiment. In half an hour this brave regiment arrived to increase the force of the imperial troops. At 9, that evening, the emperor made his entry at the Fauxbourg.

The troops entered Grenoble, and the gates of the city was shut. The ramparts which were to defend the city were covered with soldiers, composed of the 3d regiment of the corps of engineers, consisting of about 2000 sappers, all old soldiers covered with honorable wounds ; of the 4th regiment of artillery, the same regiment in which, twenty-five years before, the emperor had been appointed a captain ; of two battalions of the 5th, of the 11th, and the faithful hussars of the 4th.

The national guard and the whole populace of Grenoble were in rear of the garrison, and all made the air resound with the cry of "*long live the emperor.*"

The gates were forced, and at 10 o'clock the emperor entered Grenoble in the midst of an army and of a people animated with the most lively enthusiasm. The next morning the emperor was addressed by the municipality and by all the state authorities. All united in declaring that "a prince imposed upon them by foreign force was not a *legitimate prince*," and they could not be bound by engagements towards princes whom the nation rejected.

At 2 o'clock the emperor reviewed the troops, surrounded by the whole population of the department, amid the shouts of "*down with the Bourbons ; down with the enemies of the people ; long live the emperor,*"

and a government of our own choice." The garrison of Grenoble immediately afterwards set out to reach Lyons by a forced march.

It is here worthy of remark that almost at the same moment these 6000 men were decorated with the national cockade, and every one of them was old and had been used before, for in quitting their tri-colored cockade, they had not destroyed them, but had concealed them in the bottom of their knapsacks; not one was purchased or made at Grenoble! "It is the same," said they as they passed by the emperor, "it is the same which I wore at Austerlitz." "This cockade," exclaims another, "I had at Marengo."

On the 9th the emperor slept at Burgoin. Here the crowd and enthusiasm of the people, if possible, increased. "We have been a long time expecting you," say these brave people to the emperor—"at length you have arrived to deliver France from the insolence of the nobility, from the intolerance of superstitious priests, and from the shameful yoke of foreigners."

From Grenoble to Lyons the emperor's journey was one continued triumph. He was in his carriage, which moved at a slow pace, surrounded by a crowd of peasants, singing songs of joy, expressive of the noble sentiments of the brave inhabitants of Dauphine—"Ah!" said the emperor, "here again I find those sentiments which twenty years ago I made, and salute France by the name of a great nation—Yes! you are still and will always remain *le grande nation*."

In the mean time the count d'Artois, the duke d'Orleans, and many of the marshals had arrived at Lyons. Gold had been profusely distributed among the troops and promises to their officers. They were about to destroy the bridges of La Guillotiere and Morand. The emperor ridiculed their preparation. He had no doubt of the friendly disposition of the people of Lyons, he was assured of the fidelity of the troops: He, however, gave orders to general Bertrand to construct a bridge of boats at Mirbel, intending to pass over at night and to intercept (on the roads to Moulins and Macon) the prince who wished to dispute

with him the passage of the Rhone—at 4 o'clock a reconnoitering party of the 4th hussars arrived at La Guillotere, with the cry of "long live the emperor." The passage of Mirbel was immediately countermanded, and the emperor set off at full gallop for Lyons at the head of the very troops who were to have opposed his entry.

The comte d'Artois had done every thing in his power to inspire his troops with ardour. He did not know that in France, it is impossible for a foreign agent to succeed—if he is opposed to the honor of the nation and the people's cause. Passing by the 13th regiment of dragoons, he said to a brave fellow, who bore the scars of many a wound, "allons, camarade, erie done, *vive la roi.*" "No monsieur," replied the brave dragoon—"no true soldier will contend with his own father. I cannot answer you but in crying *long live the emperor.*" The comte d'Artois quitted Lyons in his carriage, accompanied by a single gen d'arme.

At 9 o'clock in the evening, the emperor crossed La Guillotere almost alone—he was immediately surrounded by an immense number. At 11, the next morning, he reviewed the whole division of troops at Lyons, and the brave general Brayer at their head immediately took up the line of march towards the capital.

The emperor was sensibly affected by the many affectionate testimonials which he received from the inhabitants of this great city during the two days that he remained. He could not express his feelings, but exclaimed, "People of Lyons I love you." On the 13th, at 7 in the evening, he entered Macon, accompanied by the inhabitants of all the neighbouring countries. He expressed to the people his astonishment at the feeble efforts they had made in the last campaign to resist the enemy and support the honor of their state. They replied, "sire, why do you blame us for the crimes of a traitor?" (Alluding to their mayor.)

At Tournes, the emperor passed the highest eulogiums on the inhabitants for their good conduct and for their patriotism, which under the same circumstances, have distinguished Tournes, Chalons and St. Jean de Loue. At Chalons, which for forty days resisted the efforts of the enemy and defended the passage of the Saône, the emperor employed himself in acknowledging every act of bravery. He was unable to go in person to St. Jean de Loue, but he sent the decoration of the legion of honour to the mayor of the city, remarking, "it was for you, brave people, that I instituted the legion of honor, and not for the pension-emissaries of our enemies."

The emperor received at Chalons a deputation from the city of Dijon, whose inhabitants had just expelled their prefect and their mayor, whose conduct during the last campaign had dishonored both Dijon and its people—the emperor deposed the mayor and appointed another. Upon the route from Autun to Avallon the emperor experienced the same affectionate notice as amongst the mountains of Dauphine. He re-appointed all the authorities who had been deposed for their efforts in defending their country against a foreign yoke. The emperor breakfasted at Vermanton on the 17th and arrived at Auxerre, where the prefect, Gamot, had remained faithful to his duty. The gallant 14th regiment had trod under their feet the white cockade. The emperor learned also that the 6th regiment of lancers had mounted the tri-colored cockade and had gone to Montereau to defend the bridge, which a detachment of the body-guards had endeavoured to destroy. The young body-guards, unaccustomed to the weapons of the lancers took to flight and two of them were made prisoners. At Aukerre, major-general Bertrand gave orders that all the boats should be brought up, to embark the army, (now reinforced by four divisions) and to carry it that evening to Fossard, so as to arrive at one the next morning at Fontainebleau."

On the 20th, Bonaparte reached and occupied Fontainebleau without opposition. He had at that time

with him only about 15,000 veteran troops, but other divisions were either following him, or advancing to support his right and left flanks on parallel lines of march. Ney, whose corps was stated at 30,000 men, had previously communicated to the court a declaration signed by the whole army under his command, both officers and men, "that they would not fight for Louis 18th, and that they would shed all their blood for Napoleon the great." Early on the morning of the 21st, preparations were made on both sides for the encounter which was expected to take place. The army of the king was drawn up *en etages*, on three lines, the intervals and flanks armed with batteries. The centre occupied the Paris road. The road from Fontainebleau to Melun is a continued declivity, so that emerging from the forest, you have a clear view of the country before, whilst on the other hand, those below can easily descry whatever appears on the eminence. An awful silence, broken only at times, by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the troops by repeating the royl airs of *Vive Henry Quartre et la Belle Gabrielle*; or by the voice of the commanders and the march of divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king's army. All was anxious expectation,—the chiefs, conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty, and the troops, perhaps, secretly awed at the thought of meeting in hostility, the man whom they had been accustomed to obey. On the side of Fontainebleau, no sound, as of an enemy rushing to battle was heard. At length a light trampling of horses became audible. It approached—an open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest. It drove down the hill with the rapidity of lightning—it reached the advanced posts,—"*Long live the Emperor!*" burst from the astonished soldiery. "*Napoleon! Napoleon the great!*" spread from rank to rank; bare headed, Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course, now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers, whom he called his friends, his companions in

arms, whose honor, whose glories, whose country he now came to restore. At that moment his rear guard descended the hill!—the imperial march was played; the eagles were once more displayed, and those whose deadly weapons were to have aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers, and joined in universal shouts.

In the midst of these greetings, did Napoleon pass through the whole of the royal army, and placing himself at its head, pursued his course to Paris. The inhabitants of Paris, informed of his approach, came out to meet him at the head of 200,000 persons, with the most enthusiastic acclamation.

“Arrived at the gates of Paris, the emperor was met by the whole of the army commanded by the duke of Berry—officers, soldiers, generals—the light infantry, the infantry of the line, lancers, dragoons, cuirassiers, artillery, all came to present themselves before their general, whom the choice of the people and the vows of the army, had elevated to the imperial throne—the tri-colored cockade was taken from their knapsacks and placed in the hat of every soldier. They trod in the dust the white cockade, which for twenty-five years has been the rallying signal to the enemies of France and her people.

On the 21st, at one o'clock, noon, the emperor reviewed the troops which composed the army of Paris. The whole capital is a witness of the effusions of enthusiasm and attachment, which burst from these gallant soldiers. They had all re-conquered their country! They had all been emancipated from oppression! They had all found in the national colours the remembrance of those generous sentiments which have all distinguished the French nation. After the emperor had passed through the ranks, the troops were formed into hollow squares by battalions.

“Soldiers, (said the emperor,) with 600 men I have entered France, because I relied upon the love of my people, and upon the affectionate remembrance of my old soldiers—I have not been deceived in my expectations—Soldiers! I thank you for it. Let the glory of

what has been done be ascribed to the people and to you—*Mine* is complete in having known you and appreciated your merits.

“Soldiers! the throne of the Bourbons was an illegitimate throne—inasmuch as it was elevated by foreign influence—inasmuch as it had been proscribed by the vow of a whole nation, expressed by all our national assemblies—in short, because it afforded no security whatever, except indeed, to the interests of a small number of arrogant men, whose haughty pretensions are directly opposed to our rights. Soldiers! the imperial throne can alone secure the rights of the people, and above all our chief interests, our glory. Soldiers! we are about to march, and drive from our territories those foreign allies—The nation will not only follow us with its vows, but even themselves obey the impulse. The French people and your emperor calculate upon you—We do not wish to interfere with the affairs of foreign nations—but woe to them that interfere with ours.”

This speech was received with a general acclamation. Shortly after general Cambronne and the officers of the guards of the battalion from the island of Elba appeared, decorated with the eagle, the ancient badge of distinction. The emperor resumed his address.

“Behold the officers of the battalion who have accompanied me in my misfortunes. They are all my friends. They are very dear to me. Every time I saw them they reminded me of the different regiments of the army; for among these 600 brave fellows there are men from every regiment. They all reminded me of those great and glorious days, of which the recollection is so soothing; for all of them are covered with wounds received in those memorable battles. In loving them it was you soldiers whom I loved! They have brought back to you those eagles. May they always be the rallying point. In presenting them to the guard, I give them to the whole army. Treachery and some unfortunate events have sullied their lustre! But, thanks to the French people and to you, they

shine resplendant with all their former glory. Swear that they shall be found wherever the interest of their country demands them. That traitors and those who invade our land shall never be able to look upon them."

"We swear it," cried they with the greatest enthusiasm. The troops afterwards marched off to the sound of the music, which played the popular air of "*Vellions an Salut di l'Empire.*"

In despite of all we have heard through the British prints—in opposition to all the facts stated by the *legitimate sovereign folks* in America—and in scores of the processions, orations, thanksgivings, and other things done,—Napoleon was called to re-ascend, and did re-ascend the throne of France with greater popularity than ever. If the *will of the people* is to constitute the lawfulness of kings, that man was the only legal monarch in Europe. Without the formality of a vote, he was, as it were, freely elected by the *whole population* of France to the station he held. The proof of this is to be found in every incident that occurred in his wonderful journey from Juan to Paris, a distance of 600 miles. The peasantry received him as a *deliverer* wherever he appeared; and his appeal to the soldiers at *Fontainebleau*, where his magnanimity and courage met a glorious reward, is one of the sublimest incidents that the page of history records. Caesar passed the Rubicon at the head of his legions, but Bonaparte ejected the Bourbons of *himself*! He passed from exile to a throne without bloodshed—he put down the reigning dynasty without a solitary act even of individual violence,—he conquered without drawing the sword or firing a gun! Think of it—the king of France with 150,000 armed men near his person, extolled for his amiable qualities, and called '*the desired*,' flies like a stricken deer before the face of an unarmed man—a man that the vocabulary of the regions beyond the Styx could not furnish epithets hard enough to describe as a "TYRANT."

Louis and his family fled from Paris on the night of the 19th of March, two days before the exile of Elba arrived to occupy the palace and the throne which he

had left vacant. When the news of Bonaparte's landing in France first reached Paris, the king and the old royalists, judging of the national feeling from their own, regarded the fallen hero as a fugitive and a vagabond, bent on a silly adventure. After reviewing the troops on the 10th, Louis said to those about him; "Bonaparte is doing us a great deal of good, gentlemen; he makes known public opinion." The latter part of the remark was certainly true: the appearance of Bonaparte, who traversed 600 miles in France, and was every where received with shouts of joy and admiration, afforded certainly the strongest evidence of "public opinion;" but this evidence was on the other side of the question, from what Louis expected. The count d'Artois, the king's brother, was taken prisoner, but the emperor ordered him liberated without seeing him.

The soldiers of the 7th regiment, at the head of which was the brave Labedoyer, the second which hoisted the national cockade, and declared for Bonaparte, set an example which had great influence upon the other troops. They issued an address to the soldiers of all the regiments, calling on them to restore their cockades, the sign of liberty, the testimonial of their glories; to resume their eagles, and hasten to join their comrades, who were marching with the Emperor at their head.

It is well known that this brave, generous and noble spirited young man, was afterwards shot for his fidelity to his chief and sovereign.

Bonaparte and the brave men who accompanied him marched from Juan to Paris, a distance of 600 miles, in the space of twenty days; a march which ordinarily would have required forty-five; every soldier of the Grenadiers and Chasseurs of his guard, received the decoration of the legion of honor.

Bonaparte took upon him the government at Lyons during his short stay at that place. He published several decrees, declaring, that all the officers in the land and sea service, who had been introduced into the armies, since the first of April 1814, who were emigrants,

or who, not being emigrants, quitted the service at the first coalition, should forthwith cease their functions, and lay aside the insignia of their rank ; that all the property which formed the revenues of the princes of Bourbon, and that all property which belonged to the national domain, under whatever denomination, which had been bestowed upon the emigrants since the first of April, should be sequestrated. He declared the nobility abolished, the feudal titles suppressed, and the laws of the national assembly in force. He abolished the white cockade, the decorations of the *fleur de lis*, the orders of St. Louis, St. Esprit, and of St. Michael ; re-established the national cockade, to be worn by the land and sea troops, and the citizens ; and ordered that the tri-coloured flag should be hoisted upon the city halls, and the belfrys in the country. He declared that the house of lords and the chamber of deputies, composed in part, of persons who had borne arms against France, had ceased their functions ; ordered the members to retire to their homes, and decreed that the electoral colleges of all the departments should repair to Paris in the course of the month of May ensuing in an extraordinary meeting of the *Champ de Mai*, for the purpose of correcting and modifying the constitution, agreeably to the will of the nation, and at the same time to attend to the coronation of the Empress and his son.

After the arrival of the Emperor at Paris, most of his old marshals and generals, and many of the distinguished individuals and functionaries of France, repaired to the capital, to give in their adhesion. Ney, Massena, Davoust, Suchet, Soult, Oudinot, Mortier, Moncoy, the two Lallemands, Caulincourt, &c. declared for Bonaparte ; but Berthier, long the personal friend of Bonaparte, Macdonald, and Augereau, adhered to the king ; indeed, Bonaparte ascribes his disasters in the last campaign, principally to the treason of Augereau and Marmont. All of France, except Bordeaux, and Toulon almost immediately declared for the emperor. His majesty immediately formed a cabinet of ministers : the portfolio of the minister of

justice was given to the prime arch-chancellor of the empire; the duke of Gaeta minister of finance; the duke of Bassano minister secretary of state; the duke of Decres minister of the marine and of the colonies; the duke of Otranto, minister of the imperial treasury, and afterwards the duke of Vicenza, was appointed minister of foreign affairs; the duke of Rovigo was appointed inspector general of the gens d'armee; the count de Bondy prefect of the department of the Seine; and the counsellor Real prefect of police.

Carnot was created a count of the empire, and subsequently brought into the ministry, in consequence of his having come forward, and used his exertions and influence, to attempt to save his country during the invasion. Adhering steadily to his republican principles, he had been long opposed to Bonaparte, but his patriotism was not of the same character as that of the old royalists, or general Moreau, who joined in the ranks of the enemies of their country. Carnot, although he had been personally abused by Bonaparte, and although he regarded his assumption of supreme power, as betraying the nation; yet in the hour of danger, when his country was bleeding at every pore; when a combination of despots threatened its independence, and to re-establish a dynasty, to overthrow which, the nation had made such immense sacrifices; which could not fail of degrading France, and destroying all the fruits of twenty-five years of toil, and glorious war;—at such a crisis as this, he did not hesitate to come forward in support of a government which he did not approve, against the insolence of an invading foe, which had presumed to intermeddle in the internal concerns of France. It is such conduct which shews the true patriot, and exalts human nature. If the true patriot in the hour of danger, steps forward in defence of his country, although its government is what he regards as an unwarrantable assumption of power, what ought to be expected from the patriot in this country of freedom, even if he did not approve of the existing administration? Is he the true patriot, who like Car-

not, disregarding his objections to the existing government, or those who administer it, flies to the point of danger to repel an invading foe ; or he, who, when the gathering clouds of war threaten the independence of his country, claims to be too "moral and religious" to defend it, or to rejoice at the successes of the brave men who do.

At the sitting of the 25th of March, the council of state adopted an address to the emperor, in which they declare that sovereignty resides in *the people*, who are the only legitimate source of power ; that in 1789 the nation recovered those rights, which had been long usurped ; that the nation had abolished the feudal monarchy, and established a representative government ; that subsequently it had three times solemnly sanctioned the authority of Bonaparte : "The abdication of the emperor Napoleon," they continue "was the result only of the unhappy situation to which France and the emperor had been reduced, by the events of the war, by treason and by the occupation of the capital ; the abdication had no other object than that of warding off civil war, and the effusion of French blood. Not sanctioned by the will of the people, this act could not destroy the solemn contract which had been entered into between them and the emperor, and when Napoleon had abdicated the crown for himself, he could not have sacrificed the rights of his son, called to reign after him.

Nevertheless a Bourbon was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and took the reins of government.

Louis Stanislaus Xavier arrived in France ; he seized upon the throne, after the order established in the ancient feudal monarchy.

He had not accepted the constitution decreed by the senate, he had not sworn to observe it and to cause it to be observed ; it had not been submitted to the people ; who, subjugated by the presence of foreign armies, could not even express, with freedom or effect, their wishes.

Under their protection, (*foreign armies*,) after having expressed his thanks to a foreign prince, for ha-

ving placed him on the throne, Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier, dated the first act of his authority in the nineteenth year of his reign, thus, declaring that those acts, which had emanated from the will of the people, were only the fruit of a long revolt; *he granted voluntarily, and by the free exercise of his royal authority, a constitutional charter, called an ordinance of reformation;* and the only sanction it had, was that it was read in presence of a new corps that he had just created, and a meeting of deputies who were not free, who did not accept it, of whom not one had authority to consent to the change, and of whom two-fifths had no longer even the character of representatives.

All these acts, therefore, are illegal. Done in the presence of foreign armies, and under foreign dominion, they are the work of violence: they are essentially null, and done in contempt of the honor, the rights and liberty of the people."

To this address the Emperor replied: "Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is more or less extensive, according to the interest of the nations which they govern. The sovereignty itself is only hereditary, when the interests of the people require it. I acknowledge no legitimacy save upon those principles.

I have renounced the idea of that grand empire, the basis of which I had but just laid during fifteen years.

In future the happiness and consolidation of the French empire, shall be the object of all my thoughts."

The return of Bonaparte, and the re-establishment of the imperial government, threw all Europe again into commotion. The "legimates," and their representatives were at the time assembled at Vienna, establishing the "repose of Europe;" that is, the great powers were carving up its territory, and dividing its inhabitants among themselves, as though they were sheep or cattle. The return of Bonaparte, disturbed their "labours of love." As wolves, devouring the feeble lamb they have stolen from the flock, are frightened from their spoil by the sudden approach of dogs, so these royal wolves, employed in dividing the spoils

of Europe, were frightened from their prey by the sudden appearance of Bonaparte, who had so long worried and *dogged* the whole royal herd. They perceived that they were dividing the spoils before they were won, and that all their battles were to be fought over again.

Being informed of Bonaparte's appearance in France, on the 13th of March, before he had reached Paris, or the issue of his bold enterprise was known, the great allied powers issued a solemn declaration in which they say: "The powers which signed the treaty at Paris, convened in general Congress at Vienna, having been informed of the invasion of Napoleon, and of his entry, sword in hand into France, owe to their own dignity, and to the interest of social order, a solemn declaration of the sentiments which that event has caused them to entertain. In thus breaking the convention which established him at the isle of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title to which his existence could lay claim.—In re-appearing in France, with projects to disturb and confuse, he has deprived himself of the protection of the laws, and has manifested in the face of the universe, that there can be no safety in having peace with him. The powers declare in consequence, that *Bonaparte has placed himself out of all civil and social relations; and that as the enemy and disturber of the repose of the world, he is delivered up to the vindictive public.* They declare, at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain inviolate the treaty of Paris, on the 30th of May, 1814, the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and all those which they have, or they shall yet agree upon to complete and consolidate it, they will employ all their efforts, in order that the general peace, the object of all the views of Europe, and constant end of their labours, be not disturbed anew; and in order to guarantee it from all attempts which shall threaten to replunge the people in the disorders and miseries of revolutions; and, though intimately persuaded, that France entire, will again rally itself round its legitimate sovereign, to render nugatory this last attempt of a criminal and impo-

tent delirium ; all the sovereigns of Europe, animated with the same sentiments, guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to every calculation, there should result from this event any real danger whatever, they will be ready to give to the king of France, and to the French nation, or to any of their allies, as soon as the demand shall be made, the necessary means to re-establish the public tranquility, and to make common cause against all those who shall undertake to disturb it."

It is curious to mark the progress of the coalitions, formed against France, and the assigned objects of them. At the commencement of the war, the Sovereigns armed, to put down the spirit of revolution, which was dangerous to all other states, and to restore the Bourbons to the throne ; afterwards, the object of the war was to put down the jacobins, and that spirit of rapine, plunder and dominion, which, neither restrained by public law, nor the faith of treaties, exposed all Europe to invasion and aggression. After *Bonaparte* had put down jacobinism which the allied despots had so long been striving to do, a new ground was taken, and the war was prosecuted with greater fury than ever, to put down the man, who had destroyed what they had so long been attempting to themselves, he was branded by every vile epithet of abuse which could be invented, usurper, traitor, tyrant, despot, assassin, &c. The war was commenced, against liberty, or the right of the people of France, to establish a free representative government, and ended in a war against despotism, or what they called the usurped and dangerous power of *Bonaparte*. The ambition of *Bonaparte* and the magnitude of his power, which were considered as endangering the security and repose of all other nations in Europe, were for a long time the proposed objects of the war. The lawfulness of his authority as Sovereign of France, had been repeatedly acknowledged by all the continental powers, and at least once by Great Britain. During the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 ; when fortune favoured the allies, they avowed no intentions hostile to the authority of *Bonaparte*, as Sovereign of France ; but on the contrary, in all their manifestos they expressly

declared, that their only object was their own security, and the repose of Europe, which required that, the overgrown power of France should be reduced, so as no longer to be dangerous to its neighbours ; it was for the security of all, they said, that France should be powerful, and Bonaparte was calculated to keep it so. No intimation had been given that the restoration of the Bourbons, was the object of the war ; or any objection to the authority of Napoleon as sovereign of France, remotely suggested ; but on the contrary, the negotiation was kept up at Chatillon, until the 18th of March, three days only previously to the capture of Paris. Notwithstanding their solemn declarations, the moment Bonaparte was in their power, the sovereigns who made war only for their *own security*, and who had expressly disclaimed interfering in the internal concerns of France,—the sovereigns, most of whom had repeatedly been indebted to the clemency of Bonaparte for their own crowns, determined to deprive him of his. They will no longer treat with him, but insist upon the restoration of the Bourbons, whether the nation desires it or not. Even at this period, however, nothing is said about the rights of *legitimate kings*, and Bonaparte is not avowedly set aside for any defect of this kind ; but on the contrary he is acknowledged to be *legitimately* one of the sovereigns of Europe, and to retain the title of Emperor.

But on his return from Elba, a new *principle* is assumed, upon which the war against France is to be renewed ; the long exploded notion of the “divine right” of kings is revived. The last coalition was formed for the purpose of supporting the rights of *legitimacy*, or of *legitimate kings*, against all usurpers, or governments which had no better title to their authority than *the will of the people*. Bonaparte was denounced as a usurper, as an illegitimate sovereign, as an outlaw, as a disturber of the repose of the world, as having violated his troth, and having “placed himself out of all civil and social relations,” and was “delivered up, to a vindictive public.” These “christian kings,” did not propose to kill Bonaparte themselves, nor did they expressly offer a reward for his head, dead or alive ; they seemed disposed to follow the example of the

quaker, who would not kill his dog, but only give him a *bad name*; he accordingly cried *mad dog!* so that the first man he met slew him. Louis had also issued a decree declaring Bonaparte a rebel and a traitor, and the city of Marseilles had offered a reward of two millions of franks for his head.

CHAPTER XVII.

The allies conclude a treaty for renewing the war against the common enemy....They issue a proclamation to the people of France....The re-establishment of the imperial throne occasions great joy throughout France....Conciliatory and popular policy of Napoleon....Suppresses the insurrection in the south of France....He offers peace to the several allied powers....The allies make great exertions for renewing the war....reduced condition of the French army....astonishing efforts made to organize a military force, to furnish arms, clothing, &c....Great activity throughout France....immense expenditures, promptly met....military force of France...Plans of conducting the war....The Camp de Mai....The ceremony announced to the army....Napoleon joins the army....His address to the troops....Commencement of operations....Situation of the armies of the hostile parties.

ON the 25th of March, Russia, Austria, Prussia and Great Britain concluded a treaty, wherein they agreed to unite their resources for the maintenance of the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May 1814, and that of the congress at Vienna; and to defend the dispositions contained in these treaties, against the projects and attacks of Napoleon Bonaparte. And if the king of France desired it, they engaged to bring to justice all that had, or might, afterwards, join the party of Napoleon, and to render him incapable of further disturbing the repose of Europe. To effect these objects, each of the contracting parties stipulated to constantly have in the field 150,000 men, of whom one tenth were to be cavalry, and an equal proportion of artillery, to be employed in active and united exertions against the common enemy. They engaged not to make a separate peace, nor to lay down their arms un-

til the object of the war should be attained, and the power of Bonaparte entirely overthrown. Louis was invited to accede to this treaty.

This treaty, certainly affords something new in the world. It exhibits all the great powers of Europe uniting, agreeing to employ all their resources, and making a solemn declaration of war against *one man*. They did not declare war against France; and Louis, whom they regard as the legitimate sovereign of France, was in amity with them, and afterwards become a party to this treaty. What a ridiculous farce! all the great powers of Europe uniting, and declaring war against *one man*—who they had proclaimed an outlaw, a fugitive, a disturber of Europe, a tyrant, an enemy to France, and as being hated by all Frenchmen. About this period the allies issued a proclamation to the people of France, declaring that they made war only against Bonaparte, the disgrace of usurpers, and scourge of nations; that they had no designs hostile to France, and should halt as soon as Bonaparte was delivered into their hands. While they thus invited Frenchmen to acts of treason on the one hand, they attempted to deter them from their duty by threats on the other. They declared that if Bonaparte was not delivered up, and any officers who had taken an oath of fidelity to the king, should be found with arms in their hands, in support of the existing government, they should be *instantly shot*; and those towns in which the inhabitants should take a part in support of the government of their choice, *a part of the citizens should be put to the sword*.

Such was the savage and ferocious temper with which this war was undertaken; such was the meek and humane spirit of "Christian kings," and the "deliverers" of Europe, as they were called by certain politicians in this country.

From the allies, we return to France. The general and almost universal joy displayed by the people at the return of Bonaparte was truly astonishing, when contrasted with the apparent indifference and coldness manifested during the two last campaigns, particularly the last, when the national independence was threatened.

The nation appears to have been worn out with wars;

and those oppressions and burdens which they had occasioned, and which were the results of Bonaparte's wonderful military system, seem to have depressed the spirit and overcome the ardour of the people ; and occasioned an apparent indifference to the great struggle that was going on in the midst of them. It appears too, that the conduct of many of the prefects and civil officers tended to damp the ardour of the people. But however indifferent the people may have felt towards the maintainance of Bonaparte's power, in 1814, there can be no doubt as to the joy which its re-establishment occasioned.

The severity of Bonaparte's military system was undoubtedly great ; but he had great objects in view ; he exalted the power and glory of France ; promoted great works, and internal improvements, opened canals, encouraged the arts, favoured internal trade, manufactures and agriculture. These great objects and achievements threw a brilliant shade over the gloom and horrors of despotic power.

But the short reign of Louis presented but the dreary and desolating prospect of despotism, unmitigated by a feeling of national pride ; unrelieved by a single ray of glory. During the short period that Louis had been on the throne, the public mind underwent an astonishing change. The people perceived that they were oppressed by a more rapacious tyranny ; and that the power, the glory, the greatness of the nation were lost : that France was not only oppressed, but humbled and degraded.

Whatever deceitfulness there may have been in appearances, it is certain, we think, that in the return of Bonaparte, the people saw a restoration of their *freedom*.

The measures of Bonaparte, from motives of policy, if not from principle, were dictated by a spirit of moderation, justice and popularity. He proclaimed a general amnesty of all political acts, since he had left France ; ordered the count d' Artois, the king's brother, who had been taken prisoner, discharged, without seeing him ; restored the freedom of the press, which Louis, copying his example when in the height of his power and tyranny, had restrained ; dissolved the nobility, and suppressed the feudal titles which the king had established, and abo-

lished the slave trade. He formed a ministry, comprising several distinguished supporters of republican principles, and known friends of a popular government; declared his intention of forming a new constitution, which should secure political liberty, and establish a representative government, and promised to respect private property, to abandon those schemes of ambition and conquest, which had so deeply afflicted France, and alarmed all the powers of Europe.

The Emperor adopted active measures to suppress insurrection in the south of France; and on the 9th of April, the duke d'Angouleme capitulated, being previously abandoned by all his troops but 1500 men. This event put an end to the insurrection, and the tri-coloured flag waved throughout all France except Marseilles. Bonaparte, on being acquainted with the capture of the duke, wrote to general Grouchy, stating that although the ordinance of the king and the declaration of the allies respecting himself, would justify him in treating the duke as they would have treated himself if he had fallen into their hands; yet in pursuance of the intention previously expressed, he directed that he be conducted to Cette and embarked, and that he be protected from all ill treatment. On the following day the Emperor reviewed the troops, and communicated to them the intelligence that the national flag waved throughout all the south of France.

Although probably, possessing little confidence in the success of the attempt; but as it was important as it respected its influence at home, on the 4th of April, Bonaparte addressed to each of the allied sovereigns the following letter.

"SIR, MY BROTHER—You must have learned in the course of last month, my return to the shores of France, my entrance into France, and the departure of the family of Bourbons. The true nature of these events must now be known to your majesty. They are the work of an irresistible power, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty, which force had restored to the French people was no longer made for it. The Bourbons would not associate themselves with either its sentiments or its manners.

France has sought to separate itself from them. It has called for a deliverer. The expectation which had decided me at the greatest of sacrifices, had been disappointed. I am come : and from the point where I have touched the shore, the love of my people has carried me to the very bosom of my capital. The first wish of my heart is to reward so much affection, by the maintenance of an honorable tranquility. The re-establishment of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of the French. My sweetest thought is to render it at the same time useful to the security of the repose of Europe. Sufficient of glory has, in their turn, rendered illustrious the standards of the several nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have sufficiently made great reverses to succeed to great successes. A much finer arena is this day opened to sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it.

After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will be much sweeter to know in future no other rivalry than that of the advantages of peace, no other contest than the holy contest of the happiness of the people. France is pleased to proclaim, with frankness, this noble end of all its wishes. Jealous of its independence, the invariable principle of its policy shall be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations. If such are, as I entertain the happy confidence, the personal sentiments of your majesty, the general tranquility is secured for a long time ; and justice, seated at the confines of the several states, will singly be sufficient to guard their frontiers."

This communication, containing sentiments the most noble and exalted, and breathing the most conciliatory spirit, was treated with contempt by the allied sovereigns ; the letter to the prince regent of England was refused to be received, and sent to Vienna, to the congress of sovereigns. The allied sovereigns having determined to accept of no terms of peace from Bonaparte, and once more to force the Bourbons upon the nation against its will, made the most active preparations for war. The ratifications of the treaty wherein the four great powers each agreed to furnish 150,000 men, were exchanged on the 25th of April. The small states were to furnish their

proportions ; and Sweden and Portugal alone refused. The calculation was, to have one million of men, drawn from all the nations in Europe, not even excepting France, assembled by the first of August, on the frontiers of France. The conclusion of the treaty of Ghent, between Great Britain and the United States, enabled the former to remove their troops from America to Europe. The most active warlike preparations resounded upon the Thames, the Danube, the Spree, the Neva, and the Tagus. The Duke of Wellington, who had been appointed generalissimo, had his head-quarters at Brussels on the 15th of April, and Blucher his at Liege. The duke addressed a proclamation to the people of France, reiterating the sentiments contained in the declarations and manifestos of the allied sovereigns ; calling on them to abandon Bonaparte, assist in re-establishing the Bourbons, and denouncing vengeance against all who adhered to the usurper, against whom alone the war was prosecuted.

The French army, which had undergone a new organization during the last half of the year 1814, was composed in March 1815, of 105 regiments of infantry ; sixty-one of cavalry, and eight battalions of artillery, besides corps of engineers, sappers, miners, &c. The regiments of the infantry consisted of two battalions ; six only contained three, and four regiments were in the colonies ; the effective strength of each regiment was 900 men. There were 25,000 effective men of the cavalry, and the whole effective force of the French army was 149,000 men, of which 93,000 only could take the field, scarcely sufficient to garrison the fortified places, and the principal naval establishments ; all the fleet having been dismantled, and their crews discharged, excepting one sail of the line and three frigates at Toulon, and two frigates at Rochefort. All the fortified places were dismantled, and there were but 150,000 new muskets in the arsenals.

Such was the defenceless condition of France, and so slender its means of defence, when threatened with being invaded with a million of men.

It was contemplated to organize a force of eight hundred thousand men, which was deemed necessary to encounter all Europe, whose armies which were to take the

held, were expected to equal that force. The greatest exertions were made, with the most astonishing success; the old veterans, and those who had never witnessed the "tented field," turned out with equal alacrity. All the veteran soldiers were recalled to their standards; they obeyed with joy, there was no occasion for coercion; farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers abandoned their work, put on their old uniforms, and joined the regiments to which they had formerly belonged. Two hundred battalions of the national guards were drafted, and the conscription of 1815, called out. These requisitions produced about 300,000 men. Twenty regiments of marines, comprising 30,000 men, were formed from the sailors of the different squadrons, and the retired and disbanded officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, amounting to 100,000 men, complied with the orders of the minister of war, and their experience and exertions were of great use in organizing and disciplining the new levies. In addition to these requisitions, the emperor intended to propose to the chambers in July, to authorise the levy of 250,000 men, which it was calculated would have been completed in September.

To supply arms for so numerous a force, workshops were established in all the large fortified places, and those in the capital greatly increased; old muskets were repaired, and new ones constructed with astonishing despatch. All the workmen in brass and copper, and journeymen clock-makers, and black and whitesmiths, in Paris, were employed in the business; the shops were superintended by artillery officers. In the month of May they finished daily 1,500, in June 3000, and in July they were to have furnished 4000. The activity in the capital occasioned by the extensive manufacture of arms, repairing old muskets, and other preparations for war, surpassed that of 1793, and every thing was conducted with more order and economy.

The orders for the manufacture of clothing for the troops, were suspended during the year 1814, from which circumstance there was a great deficiency. Commencing with the month of April, the government advanced several

millions to the manufacturers of cloth, which soon enabled them to put their establishments in active operation. To furnish clothing for 800,000 men was no small concern. On the first of June 46,000 cavalry horses had been purchased by the contractors, and were in the depots or the line; and 15,000 more had been contracted for. There were also 18,000 artillery horses.

These immense supplies of arms, clothing, horses and their equipments, and various other military articles, necessary to organize and bring into the field, 800,000 men, required a most enormous expenditure. But it was met by the minister of finance, the duke of Gaete, and the minister of the treasury, count Molien, with a facility that excited universal astonishment. In providing for many parts of the service, large advances were necessary; and all parts required immediate funds. Notwithstanding these immense and extraordinary expenditures, the interest of the public debt, and the pensions were regularly paid; and at the same time the great system of internal works, which had been in a great measure abandoned by Louis, was re-commenced. The workmen observed, "we see that the man of enterprise has returned; every thing was dull, now all is activity; we were all without employment; now all are occupied."

Many undertook to account for these astonishing expenditures by supposing that the emperor on his return found one hundred millions in the treasury of the Thuilleries. But it was not so; the real treasury he found was the affections of the people; not only the mass of the population, but the wealthy capitalists, and not only in France, but also in Holland. The king in the precipitancy of his flight, left behind him the plate belonging to the crown, valued at six millions; and there was in the treasury about fifty millions.

So enthusiastic were the people, that gratuitous gifts were numerous and extensive; in some departments they exceeded a million; on all public occasions, unknown individuals presented packages of bank notes to the emperor, and at several times he transmitted to the treasury 80 or 100,000 francs which he had thus received.

On the first of June, the whole force of France under

arms, amounted to 559,000 men, presenting an augmentation in two months of 414,000, nearly 7000 a day. Of this force the army of the line amounted to 363,000, of which 217,000 were clothed, armed, and ready to take the field. The residue of the troops were to form an extraordinary army, or were wanted for the garrisons. The troops of the army of the line in a condition to take the field were formed into seven army corps, four corps of reserved cavalry, four of observation, and the army of La Vendée. They were distributed so as to cover and defend the whole frontier, but the principal force was cantoned within reach of Paris, towards the frontiers of Flanders. On the first of June the troops were withdrawn from the fortresses, which were to be garrisoned by the extraordinary army, and joined the army of the line. The first corps of this army was commanded by count Erlon, stationed in the environs of Lille; the second by count Reille, at Valenciennes: the third by count Vandamme, cantoned in the environs of Mezeires; the fourth by count Gerard in the vicinity of Mentz; the fifth by count Rapp in Alsace; the sixth by count Lobau at Laon; the seventh commanded by marshal Suchet, was assembled at Cambray. The first corps of observation was under general Lecourbe, the second under marshal Brune, the third under general Decaen, stationed at Toulouse, the fourth by general Clausel, and assembled at Bordeaux. The troops forming the army of La Vendee, consisting of eight regiments of the line, several of young guards, cavalry, &c. were commanded by general Lamarque. The four corps of reserve cavalry were commanded by marshal Grouchy, and cantoned between the Aisne and the Sombre.

To be prepared for the worst, and the event of the destiny of France being again decided at Paris, the Emperor determined to fortify the capital. This service was assigned to the general of engineers Haax. The works were commenced upon the heights of Montmartre, and the table land from the hills of Chaumont to Pere la Chaise, and in a few days presented an aspect of defence. The officers of the corps of bridges and highways, directed this service. Lyons was also fortified.

The Emperor hesitated between three different plans

of the campaign ; the first was to have marched early in April, towards Brussels, and rallied the Belgic army under his standard, the English and Prussian armies, then being scattered and without commanders, or any plan of action. Wellington was at Vienna, and Blucher at Berlin, and many of the officers discharged on furlough. But this course was opposed by hopes of Peace, the unsettled state of France, and the want of an adequate force. Not more than 35,000 men, could have been collected for this service, and so small a force as this, could not have been assembled without abandoning the fortifications from Calais to Phillipsville, forming the triple line of the north.

It was first of all deemed necessary to expel the Bourbons from the French territory, and restore internal tranquility, which was not effected until the 20th of April, and if there was little prospect of peace, it was important to convince France of the moderate and pacific intentions of the emperor.

The second plan was to act on the defensive, leaving to the allies the odium of commencing hostilities ; to encounter them in fortified places ; and having penetrated to Paris and Lyons, thence to commence vigorous and decisive operations, the main force being concentrated in the vicinity of these cities. This project would have afforded time to complete the levy and organization of the force deemed necessary for the national defence, before it would have been expected, to strike a decisive blow ; besides, the enemy would be weakened by penetrating into the country, constantly opposed and harrassed.

The third plan was to commence hostilities before the allies could be prepared ; to surprise them with the sudden opening of the campaign, and to defeat the English and Prussian armies in Belgium, before those of Russia, Austria, &c. should arrive on the Rhine. This plan required that operations should be commenced by the middle of June, it being thought impossible for the allies to begin offensive operations before the 15th of July. The defeat of the English and Russians in Flanders, was expected to occasion a rising in Belgium, in favour of the French, increase the unpopularity of the war in England, perhaps overthrow the ministry, and inspire France with

hopes and confidence ; besides, this plan was more in conformity to the genius of the French armies, their leader, and their usual course of warfare, and avoided the dreadful inconveniences of suffering the enemy to penetrate into the heart of France, and occupy a large portion of its territory.

By the middle of June, 140,000 men could be assembled on the frontier of Flanders, leaving a chain of posts and garrisons in the fortresses. But was it possible with this force to beat two armies which covered Belgium ; the English of 104,000 men, and the Russian of 120,000, making together 224,000 men ? These two armies were under the command of two different generals, had separate cantonments, and might be attacked so as not to be able to afford each other assistance, besides with the exception of the English, they were considered greatly inferior. The French army was weakened by the removal of 20,000 men to La Vendee, which the extension of the insurrection in that quarter rendered necessary ; this lessened the chance of success. But Belgium and the four departments of the Rhine considered France as their deliverer, and some understanding existed between the French and the Belgic army. These considerations induced the emperor to decide in favour of the last plan ; he intended, however, in case he failed in the attack, to fall back with his forces to the capital, and avail himself as far as he could of the advantages of the second plan.

From the frontiers we will return to the capital. The *Champ de Mai* was celebrated at Paris on the last of May. It was a grand national festival, magnificent and impressive.

“ The emperor’s throne was placed in front of the military school, between two amphi theatres, in which 15,000 persons were seated. An altar was erected in the middle, and at the distance of about 100 fathoms, was raised another detached throne which commanded the whole *Champ de Mai*. The emperor having proceeded in magnificent procession to the *Champ de Mai*, seated himself on the throne amidst universal acclamations. Mass was then performed by the archbishop de Tours. When

mass was over, the members of the deputation of the electoral colleges advanced to the throne, and ascended the steps. They were about 500 in number, and were presented by the arch-chancellor of the empire. One of the members, M. Dubois, representative of the department of Marne and Loire, then pronounced an address in the name of the French people. He commenced in the following manner: "Sire—The French people had decreed you the crown, which you abdicated without their consent; its suffrages now impose on you the duty of resuming it. A new contract has been formed between the nation. Assembled from all quarters of the empire around the tables of the law, upon which we have just inscribed the will of the people—that will which is the only legitimate source of power—it is impossible for us not to repeat the cry of France of which we are the immediate organs, not to declare in the presence of Europe, to the august chief of the nation, what it expects from him, and what he ought to expect from it." The speaker enquired what were the designs of the allies, and what has occasioned their aggression? "We will not," he exclaimed, "have for our head *him* whom our enemies choose for us, and we will have *him* to whom they are adverse." "They presume," he continued, "to proscribe you personally—You, sire, who, though so often master of their capitals, had generously established them on their tottering thrones! This hatred of our enemies, strengthens our attachment to you. Were the meanest of our citizens proscribed, we ought to defend him with the same energy: he would be, like you, under the ægis of the law, and of the power of France." The speaker then noticed the threatened invasion of France, "yet shut up within our frontiers which nature has not given us?" "Ought they not," he adds, "to be afraid of reminding us of very different times, and of a very different state of things, which, however, might once more recur." "Because France," he asks, "determines to be France, must she be degraded, torn, dismembered; and is the fate of Poland reserved for us?" The speaker then declares that the allies cloak fatal designs under the mask of sole intention of separating the emperor from the nation. "They would no longer be able (says the speaker) to be-

lieve our oaths—we could no longer believe their promises. Titles—the feudal system—privileges—all that is odious to us, was evidently the aim and bottom of their thoughts.” This energetic speech concludes in the following words—“Sire, nothing is impossible, nothing will be spared, to secure honor and independence, those goods more dear than life! Every thing will be done to repel an ignominious yoke. We say it to nations—may their chiefs hear us! If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will expect from your administration, strong, liberal and paternal motives to console it for the sacrifices which peace has cost us; but, if they will leave us only a choice between war and shame, the whole nation rises entire for war; it is ready to extricate you from the offers, perhaps too moderate, which you have made, to spare Europe a new convulsion. Every Frenchman is a soldier. Victory will attend your eagles; and our enemies, who reckon upon our divisions, will soon regret having provoked us.”

At the conclusion of this speech, the Champ de Mai resounded with shouts of “*Vive la nation! vive le empereur!*” The arch-chancellor then proclaimed the result of the votes, by which the additional act to the constitutions of the empire is accepted almost unanimously. There were 1,282,357 affirmative, and 4,207 negative votes. The chief of the heralds at arms then declared the acceptance of the additional act by the French people. New acclamations were heard from every part. The grand chamberlain placed a table before the throne, on which was laid the additional act, and the arch-chancellor delivered a pen to prince Joseph, who presented it to the emperor, and his majesty invested with his signature the act of the promulgation of the constitution. The table being removed, the emperor seated and covered, addressed the assembly. He said, “Emperor, consul, soldier, I hold every thing for the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions. Like the king of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of witnessing the realization of the promise given to garrantee to France

her natural integrity—her honor and her rights.” The emperor concluded his address in the following energetic terms: “Frenchmen, you are about to return into your departments. Tell the citizens that circumstances are, arduous!—that with union, energy and perseverance, we, shall come off victorious from the struggle of a great people with its oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; that a nation has lost every thing when it has lost its independence. Tell them, that the foreign kings whom I raised to the throne, or who, are indebted to me for the preservation of their crowns; who all, in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance, and the protection of the French people, are now aiming, all their blows at my person. If I did not see that it is, against the country that they are really directed, I would, place at their disposal this life against which they manifest such animosity.—But tell the citizens also, that while the French shall retain for me the sentiments of love, of which they give me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be impotent.”

“Frenchmen, my will is that of the people; my rights, are its rights; my honor, my glory, my happiness can never be distinct from the honor, the glory, and the happiness of France.”

His majesty's speech was received with demonstrations of the warmest emotions, and when he had done speaking the archbishop of Bourges, approached the throne, and kneeling, presented the New-Testament to the emperor, who took the oath in these terms, “I swear to observe the constitutions of the empire and make them to be observed.” The prince arch-chancellor, then, at the foot of the throne, first pronounced the oath of *obedience to the constitution, and fidelity to the emperor.* The assembly repeated, unanimously, “we swear it.”

The emperor then, on delivering the eagle and colors to the national guard, called upon them to “swear to defend them at the price of your blood?”—Universal cries of, “we swear it,” resounded through the enclosure. The emperor said—“Soldiers of the national guard of Paris—Soldiers of the imperial guard! I confide to you the imperial eagle with the national colors. You swear

to perish, if necessary, to defend it against the enemies of the country and of the throne. (The whole army, assembled around the throne, was within hearing and interrupted the emperor with a thousand times repeated cries of—" *We swear it.*") You swear never to acknowledge any other rallying sign—(Unanimous cries again resounded of "*we swear it !*") The drums beat and silence was restored. You, soldiers of the national guard of Paris, swear not to suffer the enemy to pollute again the capital of the great nation. It is to your valor I shall confide it. (Cries of "*we swear it !*" were repeated a thousand and a thousand times.) And you, soldiers of the imperial guard, you swear to surpass yourselves in the campaign that is about to open, and to die all of you rather than to suffer foreigners to come and dictate laws to the country." (The acclamations, the shouts of "*we swear it !*" resounded again and were repeated throughout the whole extent of the Champ de Mars.)

The troops amounted to 50,000 men, of whom 27,000 were national guards. They defiled before the emperor, shouting "*Vive l'Empereur,*" amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of people who covered the hills of the Champ de Mars to the Seine. The emperor then returned through the departments of the military school."

This august ceremony was announced to the troops, by the Duke of Dalmatia, Major General of the army, in a general order issued the 2d of June. It concludes ; "Soon the signal will be given for every one to be at his post. Our victorious phalanxes, will derive the greater renown from the number of our enemies. Soldiers ! Napoleon directs us. We fight for the independence of our fine country. We are invincible."

On the morning of the 12th, the Emperor left Paris to put himself at the head of his army. He breakfasted at Soissons, slept at Loan, gave his last orders respecting the defence of that place, and reached Avesne on the thirteenth.

By the returns on the evening of the fourteenth, the army amounted to 122,400 men, and possessed 350 pieces of cannon. It was formed into three encampments, situated in the rear of a range of hills a league from the

frontier, so that the smoke of their fires could not be perceived by the enemy, who were ignorant of their position. The encampment forming the left, consisting of 40,000 men, was on the Sombre; that of the centre of 60,000 at Beaumont, where the head quarters were established; and the right of 15,000 were encamped in advance of Phillipville. The same evening the Emperor addressed the army in the following order of the day:

"Soldiers! This day is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo and Friedland. Then, as at Austerlitz and at Wagram, we were too generous. We put faith in the protestations and oaths of princes, whom we left on their thrones. But to day, allied together, they are arrayed against the independence, and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust aggression. Are not they, are not we, any more the same men?"

"Soldiers of Jena! against these same Prussians, to-day so arrogant, you were one to two, and at Montmirail one to three."

"Let those among you who have been captives to the English, describe their prison ships, and the evils they have suffered."

"Saxons, Belgians, Hanoverians, and the soldiers of the confederation all extremely regret, that they are forced to lift their arms in the cause of princes, enemies of justice and of the rights of the people. They know this coalition to be insatiable; after it has swallowed up twelve millions of Polanders, twelve millions of Italians, a million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it will destroy the German states of the second order."

"Madmen! a moment of prosperity has blinded them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people is out of their power! If they enter France, they will there find their graves."

"Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, and perils to encounter; but with firmness, victory will be ours. The rights, the honour of the country will be reconquered."

"For all Frenchmen of courage, the time has arrived to conquer or die."

The enemy were not apprised on the 14th that the

French were preparing to attack them. The Prussian army commanded by Blucher, consisting of 120,000 men, formed the right, and the English army under the duke of Wellington the left. The latter consisted of twenty-four brigades, of which nine were English, ten German, and five from Holland, besides eleven divisions of cavalry, comprising in all 104,000 men.

During the night of the 11th, the French spies announced that all was quiet at Namur, Brussels and Charleroy, which convinced the emperor that the enemy were not informed of the movements of his troops the two preceding days. This was an important point gained.

Contrasting the activity and daring character of Blucher, with the circumspection and slow marches of the duke of Wellington, the emperor determined to attack the Prussians first, considering that the English would be less alert and expeditious to afford them succor, than the Prussians would the latter if they should be first attacked.

At day-break the following day (the 15th of June) three columns of the French army commenced their march.—The advanced guard of the left fell in with the advanced guard of the Prussian corps of general Zieten, attacked, repulsed it, took five hundred prisoners, and secured the possession of the bridge of Marchiennes. The corps of cavalry forming the advanced guard of the centre, was in motion by three in the morning; general Vandamme's corps of infantry was to follow and support it. The emperor advanced and entered Charleroy at noon, preceded by the cavalry of general Pajol, who pressed the enemy sword in hand. The corps of general Vandamme did not arrive until three in the afternoon; all the columns reached there in the evening. It is fourteen leagues from Charleroy to Brussels, over a paved road, through Gosselies, Quatre Bras and Waterloo; five hundred toises from Charleroy is another road to the right, leading through Gilly to Namur, a distance of eight leagues. The Prussians at Charleroy, apprised of the approach of the French, retreated by these two routes. General Pajol followed the division on the route to Namur, and general Clary that which took the road to Brussels. Count Reille crossed the Sambre, pushed on and took possession of Gosse

lies after a slight resistance ; the Prussian general Zietten, having evacuated it, and took a position between Gilly and Fleurus, protected by a piece of woods. Marshal Ney, having just arrived on the field of battle, the emperor ordered him to Gosselies, there to take the command of all the left, and to scour the road from that place to Brussels, and to establish strong advanced guards on the route to Brussels, Namur, and Nivelles.

Prince Bernard of Saxe, with a brigade of 4,000 men, being informed of the retreat of Zietten, marched towards Frasne, and posted himself in advance of Quatre Bras, on the road to Brussels. General Lefebvre Desnouttes, attacked and forced him to retire ; he took a position between Quatre Bras and Genappe. Count Rielly encamped in advance of Quatre Bras, where he was joined by Marshal Ney.

The corps of Vandamme and Grouchy united at Gilly ; the emperor having reconnoitred the enemy in the rear of the woods, in advance of Fleurus, ordered an immediate attack ; the enemy retreated, and were briskly pursued ; they were charged by general Letort, with four squadrons of cavalry and the 28th Prussian regiment, entirely destroyed ; but this general, one of the most distinguished of the French cavalry officers, was mortally wounded.

During the following night the head quarters of the French were at Charleroy, marshal Blucher's at Namur, and the Duke of Wellington's at Brussels. The same night Blucher dispatched two couriers to inform Wellington that the French had entered Charleroy, broken their line between Marchiennes, Charleroy, and Chatelet, covered it with troops, and that the French army 150,000 strong, with the emperor at their head, was marching in a line towards Brussels. Wellington immediately ordered the cantonments to be broken up, and each division to concentrate to the place assigned it, there to await further orders. Of the whole English army, the Belgic division alone occupied cantonments within such distance as to enable them to assemble at Quatre Bras the following morning. During the night, the drums beat to arms, and the fifth English, and the Brunswick divisions, were on their march to Quatre Bras.

The French army passed the night in three columns ; their left under Ney, had its head quarters at Gosselies and its advance at Frasné ; the centre composed of the third corps, and the reserve of cavalry was in the woods between Fleurus and Charleroy, and the right was in advance of the bridge of Châtelet. The whole French army had crossed the Sambre on three bridges, and were concentrated within a circuit of four leagues. They lay under arms the night of the 15th and 16th.

All the plans and movements of the Emperor, had thus far, succeeded to his wishes ; he had placed himself between the two armies of the enemy, in a great measure interrupted their communications, and put it in his power to attack either, separately. There was no means by which they could avoid this, but by abandoning their ground and uniting their armies at Brussels or beyond it. The enemy had been surprised by the movements of the French, found themselves in an embarrassed situation, and the Emperor felt confident of success.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Bonaparte attacks and defeats the Prussians under Blücher at LignyGrouchy is ordered in pursuit of Blücher....He loses a day's march of him....Situation of the French army and the anxiety of the emperor on the night of the seventeenth....Situation of Wellington's army at the same time....How drawn up....Bonaparte feels confident of victory in the morning...He reconnoitres the enemy...The French army moves in columns on to the battle ground...Their disposition and order for action....Position of the emperor....Commencement of the battle of mount St. Jean, or Waterloo—Detailed account of the operations....Wellington reinforced by the Prussians commanded by general Bulow....Grouchy anxiously expected, but does not arrive....French carry the post St. Haye....Grouchy marches to Wavres, receives orders from the emperor, and sends a reinforcement....Blücher marches from Wavres to reinforce Wellington....The action raged with great fury until dark, when the English were on the point of a total defeat....Blücher arrives and decides the action.

MARSHAL Ney, during the night, received orders to

march at break of day and take a position in advance of Quatre Bras, on the road to Brussels, and to guard the roads leading to Namur and Nivelles. The Emperor with the centre and right of the army, marched to attack the Prussian army, before the corps of general Bulow could come up, or the English be able to assemble on its right. The enemy were soon discovered to be drawn up in order of battle; their left on the village of Sombref, occupying the road to Namur; their centre at the village of Ligny, and their right on the village of St. Amand. Their reserve occupied the heights of the windmill Bry. The forces of the enemy exceeded 80,000 men; the line was transverse to the road of Namur, in a direction from the village of Sombref to Gosselies. Their front was covered by a deep ravine. The French army approached the enemy about ten o'clock in the morning, halted and formed. Their third corps was in advance of Fleurus; the fourth formed their centre, and marshal Grouchy with the cavalry composed the right. The Emperor with a small retinue, ascended the heights, reconnoitred and made himself perfectly acquainted with the position of the enemy. Marshal Blucher did not expect to have been attacked on the 16th, and expected to have had time to concentrate all his army, and to be supported on his right by the English.

Marshal Ney, when on the point of marching to take the position assigned him, halted in consequence of a report that the English and Prussian armies had effected a junction in the environs of Fleurus.

The Emperor apprised of this delay, blamed him for having lost eight hours, and repeated the order for him to march in advance of Quatre Bras. In consequence of the delay of Marshal Ney, the line of the army near Fleurus had remained inactive until 2 o'clock, when the emperor ordered a change of front at Fleurus. This movement placed the third corps at the distance of two cannon shot from St. Amand; the fourth the same distance from Ligny, and the third the same from Sombref. The sixth corps, on its march from Charleroy received orders to take a position in advance of Fleurus as a general reserve. Every thing announced the destruction of the Prussian

army. The emperor said to count Gerard, who applied to him for instructions as to the attack upon the village of Ligny: "In three hours the fate of the war may be decided; if Ney executes his orders properly, not a cannon of the Prussians will escape. They are completely surprised." The villages of St. Amand and Ligny were attacked by the third and fourth corps, about three in the afternoon. Grouchy forced the left of the Prussians to fall back; all their positions on the right of the ravine were taken, and the enemy was driven to the left side of it. The conflict was sharp and warm; the villages of St. Amand and Ligny were each taken and retaken several times. During the engagement the Prussians were reinforced by the remainder of the third corps, which increased their strength to 90,000 men, while the French including their reserve did not exceed 70,000. The French crossed the ravine, attacked and drove before them the reserve of the enemy, broke the centre of their line, and compelled them to retire. General Monthion was directed to pursue them. Marshal Grouchy, and generals Excelmans and Pajol distinguished themselves. The trophies of the victory were forty pieces of cannon, eight standards, and a considerable number of prisoners. The enemy stated their own loss at 25,000 men, killed, wounded and prisoners; besides 20,000 disbanded and plundered the shore of the Meuse to Liege. The loss of the French was 6,950, killed and wounded. Marshal Blucher was thrown from his horse by a charge of cuirassiers, under the feet of the horses, but they followed up their charge without discovering him, and night enabled him to escape. The prince of Orange had marched to Quatre Bras, where the English army was expected to be concentrated, and prince Bernard of Saxe, had taken a position between that place and Genappe. The position of the prince of Orange was an important one, being the point at which the different divisions of Wellington's army were concentrating. Had it not been for the delay of marshal Ney, he might have secured this position, and been enabled to attack separately the divisions of the English army on their march. These advantages were lost. But the marshal having received the orders of the emperor, with about half his force com-

menced an attack upon the Prince of Orange about two o'clock, which grew into a vigorous conflict by three.

The Prince's division was broken and thrown into disorder; but was supported by the fifth English and the Prince of Brunswick's divisions, which approached with great haste and disorder, after a march of eight leagues from Brussels, which they left at ten in the morning. The enemy being reinforced, were greatly superior in numbers; but were deficient in cavalry and artillery. The contest was renewed with redoubled fury; the enemy was again repulsed with a severe loss; but having taken a position in the rear of a piece of woods which secured their flanks, they maintained it until night. Ney fixed his head quarters at Quatre Bras, his line being two cannon shot distant from the enemy. He was joined by Count Erlon with the corps of reserve. The loss of the English troops was estimated at 9000; that of the French at 3400.

The night of the sixteenth and seventeenth, the third corps of the French army rested on its arms on the field of battle in advance of St. Amand; the fourth corps in advance of Ligny; marshal Grouchy at Sombref, and the sixth corps in reserve behind Ligny. The Prussians retreated in two columns towards Wavres, where the fourth corps under general Bulow arrived from Liege about 11 o'clock at night. The dispersed Prussians covered the country like a swarm of locusts, and committed dreadful ravages. The defeat of the Prussians occasioned great joy to the inhabitants on the left bank of the Rhine.

The duke of Wellington had reached and passed the night at Quatre Bras; where his troops, exhausted and fatigued, continued to arrive. They had been on their march since the night of the fifteenth.

At break of day on the seventeenth, general Pajol, with the 6th corps, and a division of light cavalry was ordered to pursue the Prussians in the direction of Wavres; and marshal Ney received orders to march at day break on Quatre Bras, and attack the rear-guard of the English. Count Lobau was directed to march by the road of Namur, towards the same place, to aid the attack of marshal Ney. Marshal Grouchy with the third and fourth corps

of infantry, and a corps of cavalry, set out to support general Pajol, in the pursuit of Blucher; he had positive orders to keep between him and the road leading to Brussels, so as to keep open the communication, and be in constant readiness to unite with the army. The third division of the second corps having suffered much at the action at Ligny, remained to watch the field of battle and take care of the wounded.

After visiting the field of battle and ordering assistance for the wounded, the Emperor set off at full speed for Quatre Bras, expecting to arrive there at the same time with Count Lobau's cavalry, which he overtook at the village of Morchais. Grouchy in the pursuit of Blucher, marched to Gembloux, supposing he had retired in that direction. He arrived at four in the afternoon of the 17th, and ascertained that Bulows corps had entered the place the preceding night, that several of the corps of the Prussian army were in great disorder, the surrounding villages filled with wounded and runaways, and that desertion had already become alarming among the Saxon and Westphalian troops.

At six in the evening Grouchy learnt that the principal force of the enemy had retired towards Wavres; but as the soldiers were then at supper, he concluded not to follow him until morning.

This resolution enabled Blucher to gain a march of three hours on him, and has been considered as the principal cause of the loss of the battle of Waterloo. A severe and drenching rain fell during the night, and the country being flat, it was in the morning almost impassable, for the artillery and cavalry.

The Emperor with the right, and centre of the army amounting to about 70,000 men, encamped in advance of Planchenoit, on the road to Brussels, and four and a half leagues distant from that place. Wellington's army was encamped before him, consisting of 90,000 men, its headquarters being at Waterloo. It had 255 pieces of ordnance, and the French 242.

The Emperor supposing Grouchy at Wavres. dispatched an officer at ten at night to inform him, that a decisive

battle would be fought the next day, the English army being posted in advance of the forest of Soignes, its left resting on the village of Haye. He ordered him to detach before day, a division of 7,000 men, with sixteen pieces of cannon to St. Lambert, to join the right of the grand army; and directed, that in case Blucher should retreat from Wavres towards Brussels, or in any other direction, to march with the greater part of his troops, to support his detachment at St. Lambert.

About an hour after this dispatch, the Emperor received a report from marshal Grouchy, by which it was with surprise and astonishment he learnt that instead of his being at Wavres, in close pursuit of Blucher, he was at Gembloux at five the preceding evening, and ignorant of the course Blucher had taken.

The Emperor immediately sent an officer to Gembloux to repeat the orders and instructions, which had previously been sent to Wavres. An hour after, he reviewed a second report from Grouchy, dated at 2 o'clock at night, stating that he had ascertained at six in the evening, that Blucher had retired towards Wavres, and that he should have pursued him immediately, but that his troops were encamped and preparing their suppers, which induced him to defer marching until early the next morning, when the soldiers having taken rest, their march would be more expeditious, and he concluded he should be able to be before Wavres in season.

During the night of the 17th and 18th, the situation of the French army was very critical, and Bonaparte was deeply occupied with thoughts upon its situation, and the important events which the next day might bring forth. Since the commencement of hostilities, by the most skillful manœuvres, and bold and sudden movements, he had surprised the enemy, succeeded in separating the two armies, and preventing their union, and gained an important victory, attended with a heavy loss to the enemy.— But the mistake of Grouchy in not following up Blucher, he apprehended would defeat all his plans. The danger which he feared, however, was not which befel him. The enemy having two armies, one equal and the other nearly equally so, to his own, it had been a primary object:

with the emperor, at the commencements of operations, to prevent their junction, and to attack and destroy each separately. This, indeed, was his only chance of success. The three hours delay of Grouchy, with the left of the army, prevented the emperor from attacking the British on the afternoon of the 17th, as he intended to have done, and the permitting Blucher to escape, afforded an opportunity for the two armies to unite. It was concluded by Bonaparte that Wellington and Blucher would take advantage of the night, and traversing the forest of Soignes, form a junction before Brussels, which might have been effected by nine in the morning. This union would have placed the French army in a very critical and dangerous situation. Four corps of the Prussian army had united at Wavres, amounting to 75,000 men, and Wellington had concentrated at Waterloo 90,000 troops; besides they would be constantly receiving reinforcements from the troops that were advancing in their rear. Six thousand English had recently landed at Ostend from America.— Delay would only make the matter worse, as the Russians, Austrians, Bavarians, &c. had not yet arrived. but in a few weeks would cross the Rhine; whereas the French corps of observation in Alsace amounted only to 20,000 men.

Deeply occupied with thoughts, which his situation suggested, the emperor, at 1 o'clock at night, left his quarters on foot, accompanied only by his grand marshal, to see if he could discover any movements of the enemy.— He went the round of the grand guard; the forest of Soignes appeared in a blaze; the horizon was resplendant with the fires of the English army; the most profound silence reigned; the rain fell in torrents. Exhausted by the fatigue of the preceding day, the English army was buried in profound sleep. On approaching the woods of Chateau Hougomont, he heard a noise as of a column in march, which he supposed was the rear guard of the enemy retreating; but the noise soon ceased; and he perceived that there was no movement of the enemy. He had determined, if the English army was retreating, to pursue and attack it; notwithstanding the darkness of the night. He returned to his quarters; soon the spies came in, and

stated that they discovered no movement in the English army. At four the scouts returned and brought with them a countryman, who had acted as a guide to an English brigade. Two Flemish deserters, who had just left their regiment, soon arrived ; they informed that no retrograde movement had taken place, but that the army was preparing for battle the ensuing morning. They said that all the inhabitants of Belgium wished success to the emperor, and hated the English and Prussians. What a momentous night ! the destiny of France, and perhaps of Europe, was suspended upon the events of the following day.

It was considered a great error in Wellington, in remaining in his position, and preparing to hazard a battle, when it was in his power to have formed a junction with Blucher, before coming to an engagement. If he had been defeated it would have been fatal, as the defiles of the forest of Soignes were in his rear, which exposed his retreat to be cut off. This great mistake of the English general, raised the hopes of the Emperor ; all he feared was that the unfavourableness of the weather would prevent him from taking advantage of it. But soon the clouds began to clear away, and at five he perceived some weak rays of that sun, which he expected would set upon the destruction of the English army. But how vain are the expectations of man ! how dark and inscrutable are the pages of futurity !

The English army was drawn up in two lines, on the road leading from Charleroy to Brussels, in advance of the forest of Soignes. Their right consisting of the second and fourth English divisions, the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first of Belgians, commanded by lord Hill, rested on a ravine beyond the road to Nevelles ; the centre, composed of the English division of general Alten, the corps of the prince of Orange, the Brunswickers and Nassau troops was in advance of Mount St. Jean ; its left being flanked by the road to Charleroy. The left of the British line, comprising the divisions of Picton, Lambert and Kempt, rested its right on the road to Charleroy, and its left in rear of the village of St. Haye, which was occupied with a strong detachment. The reserve was stationed at Mount St. Jean, at the intersection of the

roads. The cavalry, drawn up in three lines on the heights of St. Jean, ranged in rear of the whole line of battle, but the greater proportion was placed left of the centre, to the east of the main causeway to Charleroy. The English were estimated at 90,000 men; they had lain under arms during the night, exposed to a severe rain accompanied with thunder and lightning.

The French army did not exceed 69,000, yet the emperor felt confident of victory. At eight o'clock his breakfast was brought him; several officers were present: "The enemy's army," said the emperor "is superior to ours by a fourth; we have nevertheless ninety chances in our favour and not ten against us." "Without doubt," said marshal Ney who had just entered, "if the Duke of Wellington were simple enough to wait for your majesty; but I come to inform you that already his columns are in full retreat, and disappearing in the forest." "You must have seen badly," said Bonaparte, "it is too late, he would expose himself to certain destruction. He has thrown the dice and they are ours." The emperor immediately mounted his horse and rode to reconnoitre the enemy's line; he directed general Haxo of the engineers, to approach near enough to ascertain whether the enemy had thrown up any redoubts or intrenchments. This officer soon returned with the information that he could discover no traces of any works. The emperor after reflecting a quarter of an hour, dictated the order of battle, which was noted down by two generals sitting on the ground, and instantly carried by the aid de camps to the different corps, all of which were under arms and full of impatience and ardour.

The army commenced its march in eleven columns; four of which were destined for the first line, four for the second, and three for the third. The artillery marched on the flanks of the columns, and the waggon in the rear. The four columns designed for the first line, arrived on the spot whereon they were to form at nine o'clock; at the same time the seven other columns were seen defiling from the heights and marching to take their stations; the trumpets and drums sounded the attack; the music in-

spired the veteran soldiers, and recalled to their minds the remembrance of an hundred victories.

It was a sublime and impressive sight ; the ground seemed to tremble under its weight, and to be proud of the burden of so many brave men. The situation of the English enabled them to see every man, and the French army must have appeared much more numerous to them than it really was. The columns, as they advanced, displayed with so much precision that each took the station assigned it, without the least disorder or confusion. It would appear incredible to a person unacquainted with military operations that such large bodies of men could be moved with such facility, order and harmony.

The first line was scarcely formed, when the heads of the four columns, designed for the second line, arrived on the ground whereon they were to form. The divisions of infantry were formed in two lines, the second thirty toises from the first. Before the second line was formed, the heads of the column of reserve arrived and took their station. At half past ten, a thing almost incredible, all the movements had been performed, and an army of seventy thousand men had all been removed, and taken the positions assigned them. The field of battle was now formed ; the hostile hosts were facing each other ; the most profound silence reigned. What a sublime spectacle ! what an awful moment ! “ big with the fate of Cesar and of Rome ; ”—of the second Cesar and of modern Rome—a moment, fraught with the destinies of Europe and the fate of thousands of brave men ; about to shed their blood in the quarrels of kings. Humanity, philanthropy and patriotism weep over such a scene.

The French were contending for independence if not for liberty ; for the right of self-government. But the English, who boast of being the freest and happiest nation in the world ; for what were they contending ? to deprive France of that independence and that liberty which they prize so highly themselves—to establish the principles of legitimacy,—of the divine right of kings to do wrong ; to strengthen the hands of “ christian kings,” and to further the schemes of the “ holy alliance ” which they had formed against the rights of mankind. Well might it be said of

warriors slain on such a field, in such a cause, in the language of their own immortal poet :*

"Ambition's honored fools—there let them rot."

The French army was drawn up in six lines, forming the figure of six W's, and occupied an extent of about two miles. The two first W's were of infantry, with light cavalry on their wings; the third and fourth consisted of cuirassiers; the fifth and sixth were composed of the cavalry of the guards, with six lines of infantry of the guards placed transversely at the summit of these six W's. The sixth corps in solid column was stationed transversely to the lines occupied by the guards, its infantry being on the left of the road and its cavalry on the right. The roads of Charleroy and Nivelles were left unobstructed in order that the artillery of the reserve might be rapidly transported to any part of the line which occasion might require.

The Emperor rode along the ranks : his presence inspired the soldiers with the highest enthusiasm ; the infantry raised their caps on the points of their bayonets ; the cuirassiers, dragoons and light cavalry, elevated their helmets and caps on the points of their swords ; all were filled with animation and ardour—all felt confident of victory—it was regarded as almost certain. The old veterans who had been present in so many engagements, admired the new order of the battle ; they endeavoured to penetrate the ulterior views of the commander in chief, and discussed the point and manner of attack. The Emperor, having given his last orders, placed himself at the head of his guards, at the summit of the six W's and dismounted. His position gave him a view of both armies, and enabled him to observe every movement. The right wing of the French was commanded by count Lobau, the left by Jerome, and the centre by generals Reille and Erlon. Soult and Ney acted as lieutenant-generals, and the Emperor himself placed in a central and commanding position, directed every manœuvre ; all the reserve were at his command, which could be ordered wherever the urgency of circumstances might require their presence.

*Byron.

A battle is a dramatic performance, having its commencement, its middle and its end. The dispositions of the two armies and the first movements to come to action constitute the prelude ; the counter movements of the party attacked forms the plot ; this occasions new dispositions and brings on the crisis, from which the result follows.

Whilst it was the intention of Bonaparte, to direct the vigour of his attack upon the enemy's left wing, the action was commenced by Prince Jerome's division, on their right, by a brisk fire of musketry ; this was accompanied by a cannonade along the whole line. The enemy unmasked forty four pieces of cannon, which induced general Reille, to order the artillery of his second division to advance, and the Emperor to direct general Kellerman to send forward his twelve pieces of light artillery.

The cannonade now became tremendous. In the meantime the conflict raged with great fury, between the division of Jerome and the right of the enemy ; the woods of Hougamount were several times carried ; this point was defended by the English guards, the best of their troops. The conflict continued with great severity for several hours, when the French became masters of the wood. A few hundred of the enemy throwing themselves into a chateau, made an obstinate resistance ; a battery of howitzers was formed, which set fire to the barns, roofs and hay stacks, which enabled the French to become masters of the post. Many of the wounded who had been removed to the Chateau, were destroyed in the conflagration. The slaughter was immense ; the dead covered the woods and its avenues ; more than two thousand men lay dead around this position.

Whilst preparations were making for a grand attack upon the enemy's centre, to be conducted by marshal Ney, and at the very moment the Emperor was about to give the signal for the attack, he discovered something in the direction of St. Lambert, which had the appearance of troops. He was in hopes it was a detachment from general Grouchy ; but it proved to be the advanced guard of the fourth corps of the Prussian army, under general Bulow of 30,000 men. A Prussian hussar, was brought in

by the scouts who had a letter from Bulow to Wellington, announcing the arrival of his corps and requesting orders. The hussar also informed that he left Wavres in the morning, that three other Prussian corps were there, and no French troops had been discovered in that vicinity, their patrol the preceding night having ranged for two leagues around Wavres. The intercepted letter, was immediately dispatched to marshal Grouchy, with an order to march with all possible expedition to St. Lambert, to attack Bulow's corps in the rear. It was now eleven o'clock, and the officer having but four or five leagues to go on a good road, engaged to deliver the orders in one hour.

From Gembloux to Wavres is only three leagues ; and by the last information from Grouchy, he was to have started at break of day, from the former for the latter place. It was concluded therefore, that even if he did not receive the orders of the preceding night, he must have reached Wavres before this hour. The glasses were turned in that direction, but nothing could be perceived.

The Emperor ordered count Lobau, with two divisions of 10,000 men, to march to support the light cavalry, which had been dispatched to St. Lambert, to take a good position and keep Bulow's corps in check, and to make a vigorous attack upon them as soon as he should hear the cannon, of the detachment from general Grouchy, which were expected soon to approach their rear. Count Lobau was dispatched with great expedition, from an apprehension that the 7,000 men, which Grouchy had been ordered to detach and send to St. Lambert, if they had reached there, might be in a perilous situation in consequence of the arrival of Bulow's corps of 30,000 strong. And if this detachment had not arrived, it was expected that when it came up, Bulow being attacked by it, in the rear, and by count Lobau in front might be cut to pieces.

The detachment of Lobau's force weakened the French line 10,000 men, so that there was now but 59,000 French opposed to the English army of 90,000, and 10,000 opposed to Bulow's Prussian corps of 30,000 strong. The

contest therefore was between 120,000 men, and 69,000, nearly two to one. But Bonaparte was not discouraged by the appalling difference. "This morning," said he to Soult "we had ninety chances in our favour; Bulow's arrival has taken thirty from us, but we have still sixty against forty, and if Grouchy repairs the dreadful fault he yesterday committed by delaying at Gembloux, and rapidly dispatches his detachment, the victory will be more decisive, for Bulow's corps will be entirely cut up."

It was now twelve o'clock; the riflemen were engaged along the whole line, yet the action had not really commenced, except on the French left and the English right, at the woods and chateau of Heugomont.

Bulow's corps remained stationary on the extreme left, and appeared to be forming. To cut off the communication between Bulow and the English army, Ney was ordered to take possession of the farm of St. Haye, to drive the enemy from and occupy the village of Haye. Eighty pieces of cannon spread destruction along the British line; one of their divisions was entirely destroyed. After a desperate conflict of three hours, the post of St. Haye was carried. Whilst this attack was going on, a large body of the enemy's cavalry on his left, charged and repulsed a column of infantry, took two eagles and seven pieces of cannon, and advanced on to the plain.

The emperor ordered a brigade of Michaud's cuirassiers to charge this cavalry, which was repulsed and broken, the cannon retaken, and the infantry protected. The fire of the Prussian batteries was doubled, and consisted of sixty pieces of cannon; the balls fell on the road before and in rear of the Belle Alliance, where the emperor was stationed with his guards. The Prussians had advanced so near as to pour their grape on this road.

To check their advance, general Dubesme, with two brigades of young guards, and twenty four pieces of cannon was ordered to take a position to the right of the sixth corps and open a battery upon the Prussians. This arrested their advance; but they extended their line and out-flanked the French. A body of old guards was ordered to the right of the young guards; Bulow was attacked and repulsed; his line converged to the centre, and the

whole of it insensibly gave way. The French took possession of the ground which general Bulow's artillery had occupied. Bulow had not only completely failed in his attack, but had been compelled to retreat. It was now seven o'clock in the afternoon.

About two hours previously to this, the light cavalry which had pursued the enemy's infantry on the plain of La Haye, were driven back by a superior body of the enemy's cavalry. General Desnouettes immediately set out to support them. The English cavalry was repulsed by the French cuirassiers and chasseurs, and they abandoned all the field of battle between St. Haye and mount St. Jean, by which all their left was broken up and thrown on their right. These brilliant charges occasioned shouts of victory: "It is an hour too soon," said the emperor, "however, what has been done must be followed up." He then ordered Kellerman's cuirassiers to support the cavalry on the plain. Bulow was extending his line and menacing the flank and rear of the French.

In the meantime, the reserve cavalry under General Guyot, without orders, set off full gallop for the plain. The emperor instantly sent count Bertrand to recall it; but he did not reach it until it had become engaged, and a retrograde movement would then have been dangerous. This unfortunate movement deprived the emperor of his reserve cavalry, by means of which he had gained so many victories. But this cavalry achieved wonders on the field of battle; they routed the enemy's cavalry opposed to them, broke through several squares of infantry, took sixty pieces of ordnance, and captured six standards, which were presented to the emperor at Belle Alliance. Victory for the second time seemed on the point of deciding for the French. Ponsonby's brigade was charged, broken, and its commander slain; the prince of Orange, on the point of being taken was severely wounded. Could the infantry which was engaged in the attack upon Bulow have come to the aid of this body of cavalry, the fate of the day would have been decided; but as they were situated, it was obliged to be contented with keeping possession of the field it had conquered. At seven o'clock, when Bulow had been repulsed, the cavalry still kept possession

of the plain, and the victory was considered as won ; joy animated every countenance, and expectation enlivened every breast.

At this moment, the cannonade of marshal Grouchy was distinctly heard ; the most distant was beyond Wavres, and the nearest in rear of St. Lambert.

Grouchy did not commence his march from Gembloux until ten in the morning. At half past twelve he had advanced half way to Wavres, when he heard the tremendous cannonade between the contending armies at Waterloo. General Excelmans approached the marshal and observed that the emperor was engaged with the English army ; that so heavy a cannonade cannot be a skirmish, and advised him to march towards the direction of the fire. The marshal was of the same opinion, but hesitated to disobey his orders. Count Gerard then came up and gave the same advice. The marshal was convinced and decided to march towards the scene of the battle, where it was expected he could arrive in two hours, and decide the fate of the engagement. At this moment he received information that his advance cavalry had arrived at Wavres and were engaged with the Prussians, whose forces there it was stated amounted to 80,000 men. This determined him to continue his march for that place, which he reached at four in the afternoon.

Having spent two hours in forming his line and making dispositions for action, he received the message from the emperor dispatched at ten in the morning. He immediately detached general Pajol with 12,000 men to march to the rear of St. Lambert, where they arrived at seven in the evening. Grouchy then engaged the Prussians at Wavres with the remainder of his force.

Blucher being informed that Wellington had determined to hazard a battle, if he could calculate on assistance from him, early in the morning detached his fourth corps under Bulow, which was entire, not having been engaged in the battle at Ligny, which crossed the Dyle at Limate, and united at St. Lambert. Having sent scouts for several leagues round his camp, and discovering nothing of Grouchy, Blucher at seven in the morning concluded that the marshal had united with the army of the emperor at

mount St. Jean. This induced him to order on his second corps under general Pirch, and to march himself with the first corps, to reinforce Wellington. These two corps had been reduced, one to eighteen and the other to thirteen thousand men. General Thielman with the third corps was left at Wavres.

At Ohain, which he had reached at six in the evening, Blucher was informed that Grouchy was before Wavres at four, and preparing to attack the troops he had left there, which were exposed to be cut off. He hesitated whether to attempt to relieve the troops at Wavres, or to continue his march. He decided for the latter, and sent orders to general Thielman to hold out as long as possible, and then to retire towards him. When Blucher arrived with his two corps, he was met by general Bulow in full retreat, who halted. At this period Wellington was in despair; the prospect was dark and gloomy; his defeat seemed inevitable, and the destruction of his army would have followed from the disadvantageous position he had taken for a retreat. He beheld his safety in the appearance of Blucher, with a reinforcement of thirty one thousand men. The mistakes and delays of marshal Grouchy proved fatal to the French; his movements were very unfortunate, and seemed to be attended with a strange fatality. He neither arrived to take part in the engagement, nor prevented the Prussian army from uniting with the English. He had suffered Blucher to gain a whole day of him. He ought to have been before Wavres on the night of the seventeenth; and if he had marched from Gembloux at break of day, the next morning, as he stated he should in his communication, he would have reached that place in time to have prevented Blucher from marching to reinforce Wellington, although not in season to have stopped general Bulow. But the French would have obtained a victory had not the last reinforcement under Blucher arrived. At seven in the evening before this event, they remained victorious; they were in possession of one half of the field of battle of the English army, and had repulsed general Bulow's Prussian corps. After a desperate contest of a whole day, and when the fate of the battle had appa-

rently been decided, and it seemed only to remain to give a finish to the victory, it was snatched from them by the arrival of Blucher with a reinforcement of 30,000 men, augmenting the allied troops to 150,000, being two and a half against one of the French.

As they perceived Blucher's columns, the French were much astonished; some régiments fell back. The emperor perceiving it, saw that it was of the utmost consequence to restore order, and placing himself at the head of four battalions of guards, advanced on the left in front of St. Haye, and ordered his aid de camps along the line to announce to the troops the arrival of marshal Grouchy, and to say to them that with a little more firmness the victory would be decided. General Rielle, concentrating his corps in front of chateau Hougomount, on the left, prepared for an attack. But the cavalry not having the support of a reserve of infantry, he ordered general Friant with four battalions of guards to march in front of the enemy's attack. The cavalry resuming confidence, marched on with rapidity, repulsed all that opposed them, and carried terror and dismay into the English ranks. In ten minutes the other battalions of guards arrived, and were formed by the emperor. Whilst this was taking place general Friant who had been wounded, passed and observed that all was going on well; that the enemy appeared to be forming their rear guard to cover their retreat, but that they would be entirely broken when the remainder of the guards marched against them. This required a quarter of an hour, before which time marshal Blucher arrived at La Haye, and the French troops which defended it gave way; being attacked by four times their numbers, and fresh troops too, they made but a feeble resistance and fled in great disorder. It was here that the cry was said to have been heard—"save himself who can."

A breach being made and the line broken,—like the waters of the Mississippi which swelled by freshets, breaks down its embankments, and inundate the country, the enemy's cavalry poured a dreadful torrent into the field of battle; general Bulow marched forwards with his command; and perceiving their advantage, all the troops

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Thus ended the great and decisive battle of Waterloo, which proved to Bonaparte and to France what the battle of Zama did to Hannibal and Carthage, although not from the same causes. France was not exhausted; she still had immense resources, and might have recovered from this shock, had it not been for her internal divisions.

This was the fiftieth pitched battle which had been fought by Bonaparte, and perhaps in no one did he ever display more consummate generalship or cool intrepidity; but in no one, certainly was he so unfortunate. That destiny in which he seemed to believe, and which so long smiled upon him, appeared to have changed: he was no longer the favourite of fortune; the goddess seems to have abandoned him, at a time when her favours were most wanted. He had abused her favours from their being too freely and profusely bestowed. If the emperor on this disastrous day did his duty, so did the French army. "Never," says a French writer "did the French army behave better than on this day. It performed prodigies of valour. The superiority of the French troops, infantry, cavalry and artillery, was so great over that of the enemy, that if the first and second Prussian corps had not arrived, the victory would have been certain and complete over the English army and Bulow's corps; that is to say, one to two—69,000 men to 120,000."

The loss of both parties was immensely great. The English estimate theirs, exclusive of the Prussians, at 13,000, and that of the French at 20,000 left on the field, beside the loss in the pursuit. The French say that the loss of the English army and the corps of general Bulow much exceeded theirs on the field of battle, and that during the four days operations, the loss of the allies greatly exceeded the loss of the French, including that of the retreat, until the army arrived near Paris. The allies admit a loss themselves of 11,300 English, 3,500 Hanoverians, 8,000 of the Belgian and Nassau and Brunswick troops, and of the Prussians 38,000, making an aggregate of 60,500 men in the operations of four days. The French estimate their loss, from the commencement of hostilities, including that of the retreat, during which six or seven thousand prisoners were taken, at 41,000.

CHAPTER XIX.

Blucher pursues the French....Dreadful confusion and slaughter at the bridge of Genappe....Message sent to Grouchy to acquaint him with the loss of the battle....The troops ordered to rendezvous near **Loan**....Operations of Grouchy at Wavres....Situation of France...The allies enter the territories of France....Napoleon returns to Paris....Agitation of the chambers....Motion of La Fayette....Napoleon abdicates....His son is declared by the title of Napoleon Second....Napoleon proceeds to Rochefort....Paris capitulates....Napoleon attempts to sail for America....Surrenders himself up to the Bellerophon....His suit....The Bellerophon sails to Torbay....Great curiosity excited among the English....Is informed that he is to be sent to St. Helena....Enters on board the Northumberland.

MARSHAL Blucher pursued the French army, his troops being fresh. At the village of Genappe, a dreadful confusion ensued. Here is a bridge sufficiently spacious for five or six files of waggons to pass it abreast, but the fugitives who first arrived, for their own security, and to obstruct the pursuit of the Prussians, blocked up and obstructed the bridge, by overturning waggons, baggage, &c. leaving only a passage of three toises. The Prussians having reached the heights, dispersed a handful of brave men who had been rallied by general Duhesme, and entered the village. The disorder and consternation became terrible. Among the baggage taken was the Emperor's post-chaise, which always contained a change of apparel, a sword, a cloak, and an iron bed. The emperor reached Quatre Bras at one o'clock at night, and dispatched several officers to Marshal Grouchy to inform him of the loss of the battle, and to order him to retreat towards Namur. The officers who had been dispatched to Ligny to bring Girard's division to Quatre Bras, returned with the distressing intelligence that it was impossible to find that division. A part of the army under Jerome bent their course towards Marchiennes on the Sombre, where they had crossed that river a few days before, and a part retired towards Charleroy.

The Emperor arrived at the latter place at six in the morning, and from thence proceeded to **Phillippville**, for the purpose of keeping open a communication with **Marshal Grouchy**, and sending his orders to the Rhine. Here

he remained four hours, when he proceeded with the greatest possible expedition for Loan, and reached that place at four o'clock in the afternoon on the twentieth.— Here he had an interview with the prefect, ordered his aid de camp, count Bussy, to superintend the defence of the place, and gave various other orders. He waited until he received dispatches from Jerome, by which he learnt that he had rallied more than 25,000 men in rear of Avesne, and fifty pieces of cannon, that the army appeared to augment continually, that most of the general officers had arrived, and that the loss was not so great as might have been imagined. The emperor ordered the troops to rendezvous at Fere, and fixed upon Loan as the general head-quarters, whither marshal Soult was ordered to repair. The prefect took every measure to fill the magazines and supply provisions for an army of 80 or 90,000 men, which were expected to concentrate around the town in a few days. Prince Jerome, marshal Grouchy and general Rapp, had all been ordered to concentrate at this place, which was made the general point of junction.

Having given the necessary orders, the emperor proceeded from Loan to Paris, which is a journey of only twelve hours, and reached the capital on the night of the 20th. He expected to remain at the capital four or five days to make arrangements for this great national crisis; to complete the defences of Paris, and to hasten the resources that might be obtained from the depots and the provinces, and calculated to return to the head-quarters of the army by the 25th.

On the evening of the 18th, and on the 19th, marshal Grouchy attacked the Prussian general Thielman, repulsed him, and was pursuing him in the direction of Brussels, when he was informed of the loss of the battle, and received the order of the emperor to retreat towards Namur. He commenced his retreat, and was followed cautiously by the Prussians, who advancing too near were attacked and repulsed with the loss of several hundred prisoners. The marshal arrived at Loan on the 26th, with a force of 32,000 men, 6,500 of whom were cavalry.

The situation of France after the battle of Waterloo, was not so desperate as has been considered. This battle

might have been to France what the battle of Cannæ was to Rome, not what that of Zama was to Carthage, had it not been for the unsettled condition of the government. By the 27th of June 70,000 men had rallied between Paris and Loan, from 25 to 30,000 were on their march from the capital and the depots, and general Rapp with 25,000 select troops would have arrived early in July, on the Marne, making a force of 120,000 men, equal to that which the emperor had at the commencement of hostilities. At Paris there were 500 field pieces; and for its defence it had 36,000 national guards, 30,000 riflemen, 6,000 gunners and 600 pieces of ordnance in battery; formidable entrenchments were erected on the right bank of the Seine, and the works on the left could soon have been completed.

The English and Prussian armies weakened by the loss of 80,000 men, they would not have been able to cross the Somme with more than 90,000. They would not have hazarded to penerate to Paris with so inconsiderable a force, but would have been obliged to wait for the arrival of the Austrian and Russian armies, which could not reach the Marne before the fifteenth of July; nor more than 30 or 40,000 of their troops, at as early a period as that. This would have given Paris twenty-five days to prepare for its defence, to complete its armaments and fortifications, and to collect troops from all parts of the empire. Besides, marshal Suchet would at the same time have more than 30,000 men at Lyons, exclusive of the garrison of that town. The defence of the fortified places were such as could be relied upon, they being commanded by select officers and garrisoned by faithful troops.

On the 21st of June, Wellington and Blucher entered the territory of France in two columns; on the 24th the former had reached Cambray, and the latter Guise. On the 26th Wellington entered Peronne. But during all this time the three lines of fortresses in their rear on the frontiers of Flanders were invested. On the 25th they heard of the abdication of the emperor, of the tumultuary and disorderly conduct of the chambers, the divisions and agitation of the government, and the general alarm and confusion which prevailed at the capital. On receiving

this information they instantly determined to march to Paris ; they reached the capital on the last day of June. As their united forces amounted only to 90,000 men, this step would not have been hazarded if Bonaparte had been in power, or if it had, it would have been fatal ; but nothing was to be feared now ; Napoleon had abdicated, and the government was in confusion.

The abdication of the emperor was occasioned by the disaffection of the chambers. He arrived at Paris on the night of the 20th of June, and confirmed all that had been feared as to the defeat of the army, and the critical situation of the nation ; he immediately called a council of ministers. The two houses assembled, and their sitting of the 21st was characterised by great agitation and alarm. Their fears were not only from the troops of the allies, which were marching towards Paris, but an apprehension prevailed that the emperor would dissolve the legislative bodies. The utmost agitation prevailed ; various propositions were made, debated and withdrawn ; all appeared sensible that something must be done, and that immediately, but no one knew what to do. At length the venerable patriot, La Fayette, arose and addressed the Chamber: " This is the first time that I have raised my voice within these walls, and I feel the necessity of opening my whole soul to my colleagues. In a time of public distress, the true friends of liberty will perhaps recognize this voice which has always been raised in its defence, and never has been mingled with the cries of faction. Our armies have suffered a reverse, and our territory is threatened. It is to you representatives of the people, that it belongs to rally the nation around the tri-coloured banner of 1789, that sacred standard which is the signal of the revival of liberty, independence and public order. It is to you that it belongs to summon the whole nation to the defence of its rights, its independence and its territory against foreign usurpation. A veteran of liberty, and, I repeat it, a stranger to the spirit of faction, I am about to propose to you those measures which our present critical circumstances imperiously require."

He then proposed that the Chamber declare that the independence of the nation is threatened ; that it declare

itself permanent, and every individual who shall attempt disorder to be guilty of treason; that the troops who have fought for the integrity of the French territory have deserved well of their country; that measures be immediately taken to furnish arms to the national guards who might be destitute, and that the ministers be required to attend before the Chamber to answer such questions as might be asked of them. The resolutions of La Fayette, with some modifications, were adopted. The ministers did not appear until 5 o'clock in the afternoon; they were accompanied by Lucien Bonaparte, which occasioned great murmurs; they, however, subsided, on the house being informed by the president that Lucien appeared as the commissioner of the Emperor. The information communicated by the ministers increased the agitation and alarm. M. Duchene and other republican members declared that as the allies had refused to treat with the man at the head of the government, it was a duty which the Chamber owed the nation, to insist on the unqualified abdication of the emperor. In this critical conjuncture, Bonaparte seems to have been greatly embarrassed how to act. He was urged by some of his adherents to dissolve the mutinous assembly and establish himself dictator—He hesitated and seemed undecided—exhausted from fatigue, anxiety, and the loss of sleep, and impressed from the awfully responsible situation in which he was placed, the war being declared to be prosecuted against him and not against the nation, his energy and decision of character seemed to have forsaken him. Lucien declared that the mode of the battle of mount St. Jean had turned his brain. He finally decided to abdicate in favour of his son. Accordingly on the 22d, the following declaration was communicated to the legislative bodies.

“FRENCHMEN!

In commencing War to support the Independence of the Nation, I calculated upon the co-operation of all the efforts and the wishes of all the National Authorities. I had reason to hope for success; and I have braved all the denunciations of the Powers against me. Circumstances are changed.—I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they be sincere in their declara-

tions, and have no other designs than such as are directed against my person.

MY POLITICAL LIFE IS ENDED; and I proclaim my Son, under the title of Napoleon II. Emperor of the French.

The existing Ministers will form provisionally a Council of Government. The affection which I bear to my Son, induces me to invite the Chambers without delay to organize a Regency by law. Unite yourselves for the public safety, and preserve the independence of the nation.

Done at the Palace of Elysium, June 23, 1815.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

The two chambers voted Bonaparte an address of thanks for the sacrifice he had made for the interest of the nation, which was presented by their president Lanjuinais, and answered by Napoleon.

A decree was then proposed by M. Dupin introduced by a warm compliment to the Emperor for his abdication, declaring that the Chamber in the name of the nation accepted of the abdication of Napoleon, and for constituting the Chamber of Deputies the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY; for constituting a commission to treat for peace with the Allies in the name of the nation; for appointing a provisional executive of five members; and for raising a committee to form the basis of a new constitution. The agitation was so great that these propositions were not acted upon. After long discussion, Fouché, minister of general police, Carnot, minister of the interior, and general Grenier, were chosen on the part of the Chamber of Deputies, as members of a provisional government, to consist of five. Caulincourt and Quinette were added by the House of Peers. On the sitting of the 23d, a unanimous vote passed accepting the abdication of Napoleon, and after various propositions were moved and discussed M. Manuel delivered a long and animated speech, which concluded with the following resolution: "NAPOLEON THE SECOND has become Emperor of the French by the fact of the abdication of *Napoleon the First*, and the constitutions of the Empire; the decision shall be transmitted to the Chamber of Peers by a message." The resolution was seconded by innumerable voices. On its being put to vote *the whole Assembly rose*, and the president declared the resolution adopted. As the vote was declared, the cry of *vive l'Empereur*, burst forth in

the assembly and the tribune, and was prolonged amidst the most lively applause. The same evening the House of Peers concurred in the above resolution.

After his abdication Napoleon took up his residence at Malmaison, where on the 25th he communicated to the army his farewell address :

"NAPOLEON to the brave men of the army under the walls of Paris.

*Soldiers !—*In obeying the necessity which separates me from the brave French army, I feel the happy certainty that it will justify, by the eminent service which the country expects from it, the eulogiums, which even our enemies have not been able to refuse to it.

*Soldiers !—*I shall follow your movements although absent. I know every corps, and not one of them will gain a single advantage over the enemy, but I shall take notice of the bravery that it will display. They have calumniated you and me. Men little calculated to appreciate our exertions, have seen in the proofs of attachment which you have given me, only a zeal of which I was the only object. May your future success teach them that it was the country above all things that you served by obeying me, and that if I had any part in your affection, I owed it to my ardent love for France, our common mother.

Soldiers, a few efforts more and the coalition is dissolved ; Napoleon will be a spectator of the blows which you are about to give them. Preserve the honour, the independence of the French. Continue to the end, the men whom I have known you for twenty years and you will be invincible.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

Thus terminated Bonaparte's memorable reign of 100 days. He might well have said with one of Lord Byron's heroes : " I confess to have failed.

Fortune is female ; in my youth her favours
Were ne'er withheld ; the fault was mine
To expect again to enjoy her smiles
At this late hour."

The provisional government did not neglect to adopt measures for the personal safety of Bonaparte.

He requested two frigates to be placed at his disposal on the 25th, which the minister of marine was immediately ordered to furnish, and general Bekear was ordered to provide for his safety during his route to Rochefort, from whence he was expecting to sail for America, which is the asylum for the oppressed, even among kings. Wellington was applied to for a passport and safe conduct for Bonaparte to proceed to America, but declined giving any reply to the demand on the ground that he had no author-

ity from his government. On the 29th he set out for Rochefort with his suit, accompanied by general Bekear.

On the night of the 2d of July a general council of war was held at Paris, which decided on the necessity of sending a deputation to treat with the commissioners of the allied generals for the surrender of the city ; which it was agreed should be a military capitulation only, and have no reference to political questions.

The French troops were to evacuate the capital in three days, and retire beyond the Loire, and all the military posts and barriers were to be delivered up to the allies. The chamber continued their sittings after the convention, and their hall was closed on the 7th by order of the commander of the national guard. The next day Louis made his public entry into Paris the second time, borne upon foreign bayonets. He the second time mounted the throne of France when conquered by foreign powers. The allied sovereigns had now an opportunity presented, to shew to the world their respect for their royal word. They had repeatedly declared that they did not make war against the French nation ; but against Bonaparte and his adherents, and that as soon as he was overthrown the war would cease. They were reminded of their solemn declarations, so often repeated, but they were forgotten. Although they had repeatedly disclaimed interfering in the internal government of France, as they possessed the power they were determined that France should have Louis to rule over her ; not because the nation desired it, for that would not be pretended, but because the *enemies* of the nation desired. It belonged to the enemies of France to say who should be its sovereign, and what form of government it should have. This is a new principle in the laws of nations, for which the world is indebted to the "holy alliance." If any nation is not governed so as to suit them, they have nothing to do but to unite and form a holy league against it, march their armies into its territory and compel it to adopt such a government as *they* think best.

Bonaparte reached Rochefort on the 3d of July, and commenced his preparations for his voyage to America. But the port being blockaded by eleven English ships

with the greatest vigilance, it was found impossible to put to sea. He remained here until the 15th, probably expecting that some event might occur favouring his escape. On the 8th he embarked on board the *Saale*, one of the frigates assigned him to try the disposition of the English fleet. On the 10th Bertrand was set in a boat to ask permission of the English admiral for the frigates destined to convey Bonaparte to America to pass; but received for answer that they would be attacked the moment they might attempt to leave the port. He however communicated to the ex-emperor that if he was inclined to come on board his ship, he should be treated with respect; that he would guarantee his safety and conduct him to England, where his destiny would depend upon the British government, which however he presumed would convey him where he might desire to go. On the 12th he ascertained from his brother Joseph the dissolution of the chambers, and the king's entrance into Paris; until this period it is said he often expressed an opinion that the chambers would recall him, either deceiving himself or wishing to deceive those around him, to keep up their expectations. The same day he landed with his suit and baggage on the isle of Aix, and on the following night two half-decked boats arrived there from Bochele. These boats it is supposed the ex-emperor had purchased with the expectation of embarking in them, and attempting under cover of night to reach a Danish smack, with which he is supposed to have bargained to carry him to America, and which was to wait for him at the distance of 30 or 40 leagues. This attempt however was not made. On the night of the 13th Bonaparte went on board the French brig *Epervier*, and on the morning of the 14th, after the return of general Bekear, who had been parleying on board the English cruisers, his suit also went on board, and his baggage was removed on board. On the morning of the 15th, the *Epervier* with a flag of truce hoisted, made towards the admiral's ship; when it was perceived, several English boats were sent out to meet it, and convey the passengers on board the *Bellerophon*. Lieutenant Jourdan the commandant of the *Epervier* feeling the responsibility of his

situation, demanded of captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon* a receipt or certificate of the transfer of Bonaparte on board that vessel. The *Bellerophon* set sail for England on the 16th. On this great emergency the fallen hero addressed the following letter to the Prince Regent of England:

"ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great Powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British people. I claim from your Royal Highness the protection of the laws, and throw myself upon the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON.

"*Rochefort, 13th July.*"

Among those who accompanied Bonaparte on board the *Bellerophon*, were general Bertrand Grand master of the Palace, the countess Bertrand, and three children; the Duke of Rovigo, general L'Allemand, Barron Gorgaud aid-de-camp to Napoleon; Montholon also aid-de-camp, countess Montholon and child; the count Las Casas. Counsellor of State and his son; M. Resigny chief of squadron, M. Planat same, M. Autrie lieutenant of squadron, M. Schultz chief of squadron; M. Pointkorski captain, M. Mercher same, and M. Maingault surgeon of Napoleon. The *Bellerophon* arrived at Torbay on the 24th of July. The arrival off an English port of the man who had furnished work for their armies and fleets for twenty years, and who had once been the ruler of half of the world, might naturally be supposed to excite the greatest curiosity. The people flocked from all quarters to get a sight at the fallen hero. They were not permitted to go on board the *Bellerophon*, but they sailed round the ship in boats by which means a sight of him was usually obtained. Several thousand persons were thought some days to have visited the *Bellerophon*. When Bonaparte first went on board this ship, he is said to have addressed Captain Maitland with energy and dignity: "I come to claim the protection of your Prince and your laws."

At this period Bonaparte was represented to have been very corpulent. He was dressed in a plain green coat with a red collar; the coat buttoned close on the breast,

out in the usual French fashion. He wore a white waist-coat and pantaloons ; had a silver star on the left breast ; two large gold epaulets ; a low cocked hat perfectly plain, and high boots. His complexion was represented to be clear ; his eyes black, rather small, fixed, steady and impressive ; his chin very prominent, his hair a jet black, and his lips small, forming altogether an agreeable and pleasing countenance. He was rather bald upon the head, and had no whiskers. So great a hero, although fallen, was calculated to command respect ; and Bonaparte was treated with the greatest attention by his followers ; no one presumed to speak to him unless uncovered. He spent much time in walking the deck, and intentionally exposed himself every evening, to gratify the immense crowds who came to see him. "Is this he—is this the man who has made and unmade kings—who has so wasted and destroyed the human species," was the exclamation of thousands who came to "see the great sight." "He is nothing but a man," said some ; others said they discovered no marks of greatness. How should this man have bestrode the world, was the remark of some ; by what a thing all Europe has been overawed. His wonderful talent at pleasing was admitted by the English ; and during a single week that he remained on board the *Bellerophon*, he is said to have gained the good will of the whole ship's company. Even the sailors said that he was a *devilish good fellow*. His manners were dignified and fascinating, and his deportment conciliatory, insinuating and pleasing in an eminent degree.

The popularity which he had acquired on board the *Bellerophon*, is said to have been the cause of his being transferred to the *Northumberland* to be conveyed to the place of his destination.

On the 6th of August Sir Henry Dunbury and Mr. Bathurst came on board to communicate to him the decision of the allied sovereigns as to his final destiny. He received the information, that he was to be transported to the Island of St. Helena, with only four of his friends and twelve of his domestics, without surprise or agitation, having been previously apprised of the determination. He however protested against it with great emphasis, and

urged his objections with great coolness, self-possession; energy and eloquence, in a speech of three quarters of an hour. He said that it was not him, but the allied sovereigns that had violated the treaty of 1814, and compelled him to quit Elba; that he was not responsible for the war which followed, as he had exerted himself to prevent hostilities; that he had voluntarily abdicated the Imperial crown, for the good of France, and in the full confidence that the allies would be faithful to their solemn declaration so often repeated, and not interfere in the internal concerns of France. That like the heroes of Greece in their misfortunes, as a private individual he had sought an asylum in England, and voluntarily put himself into the power of the British government, and relied upon the protection of the British laws. Sir Henry Dunbury and Mr. Bathurst spoke in the highest terms of his temperate and dignified manner, and of his energetic and persuasive style of eloquence. He appeared to be well versed in the English laws, and reasoned against the decision with great force. But arguments when opposed to power are as unavailing as the prayers of the waggoner to Hercules, to remove his wheels from the mud. It was said that Bonaparte was hastened away in consequence of its being intended to serve a writ of *habeas corpus* upon capt. Maitland for detaining him; and at any rate an officer arrived with a subpoena for Napoleon and Jerome to appear as witnesses in a case pending before the court of King's Bench a few minutes after the Bellerophon had sailed.

Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn, the latter of whom was charged with conducting Bonaparte to St. Helena, came on board the Belerophon and informed him of his intended transfer to the Northumberland, for the purpose of proceeding for his final destination. Napoleon again protested with great vehemence against the conduct of the British government in making a prisoner of a man who had voluntarily sought an asylum under their laws—he did not expect it; he had supposed the government more just, more magnanimous. No answer was made to his remarks by Lord Keith or Sir George Cockburn; but a British officer standing near observed, that if he had not been sent to St. Helena, he would have been delivered up

to the emperor of Russia. To this Bonaparte observed, "*Dieu me garde de Russes*"—God keep me from the Russians, looking towards general Bertrand, and shrugging up his shoulders. "At what hour to-morrow," said Sir George Cockburne, "shall I come, general, and receive you on board the Northumberland." At ten o'clock, said Bonaparte, manifesting some surprise at being styled merely general. On being asked by admiral Cockburn if he wanted any thing before they put to sea, Bertrand replied that they wished for fifty packs of cards, a backgammon and a domino table; and madam Bertrand desired to have some articles of furniture. Bonaparte again renewed his remonstrance against going, and asked for another interview with lord Keith; but his lordship informed him that it would be of no use—that he had no discretion, and that his fate was unalterably fixed. A British officer who stood by, observed to Bonaparte, "You would have been taken if you had remained at Rochefort another hour, and sent to Paris." He turned his eye upon the officer, but said not a word. He then asked several questions of Sir Geo. Cockburn about St. Helena: "Is there any hunting or shooting there? Where am I to reside?" The subject was then changed, and he burst out into invectives against the British government. This was followed by an expression of indignation at the style of General, with which he had been addressed; "you have sent ambassadors to me as a sovereign—you have acknowledged me as first Consul." He took snuff rapidly while he was speaking. His arms had been taken from him and he was informed that all his baggage would be strictly examined. Those of his followers who were not to accompany him went on board the Eurotas Frigate. They parted with great reluctance from their fallen chief, whose sunken fortunes they were desirous of following. Bonaparte in the most affectionate manner took leave of each one individually. Early on Monday morning Sir George Cockburn went on board the Bellerophon to superintend the inspection of Bonaparte's baggage. It consisted of two services of plate, a superb toilet of plate, several articles of gold, books, beds, &c. Of money, 4,000 gold Napoleons only were found which were detained; the rest was sent on board the Northum-

berland. He had brought with him from France about forty servants, two thirds of which were sent on board the Eurotas, and not permitted to accompany him.

At half past eleven, lord Keith in a barge went on board the Bellerophon to receive Bonaparte and those who were to accompany him, and convey them to the Northumberland. On leaving, Napoleon addressed himself to captain Maitland and the officers of the ship. The persons who accompanied him on board the Northumberland, were general Bertrand and madam Bertrand, with their children; Count and Countess Montholon and child; Count Las Cassas, General Gorgand and nine men and three women servants. Bonaparte's surgeon refusing to accompany him, the surgeon of the Belerophon offered to supply his place. Thus the man, who once had a 'Senate at his heels,' and immense armies at his command; who was surrounded by all the courtiers, flatterers, office-seekers and parasites of an empire, was now reduced to the retinue of four personal friends and a dozen servants. How were the mighty fallen! What wonderful vicissitudes in the fortune of an individual.

The duke of Rovigo, (Savary) and general L'Allemand were left behind; the former seemed greatly agitated from an apprehension of his being delivered up to the French government, and often repeated that the honour of England would not suffer him to be landed on the shores of France. Bertrand was the first who stepped on the deck of the Northumberland; he was followed by Bonaparte, who mounted the side of the ship with all the activity of a seaman. He was received by the marines as a general, they being drawn up and presenting arms to him. As he entered upon deck he pulled off his hat to Sir George Cockburne and said, "*Je suis a vos ordenes.*" He bowed and spoke a few words to lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton, who stood near the admiral, to which they replied. He said to an officer, *dans quel corps serves vous?* in what corps do you serve? "In the artillery," was the reply. Bonaparte rejoined, *Je sors de cette service moi-meme.*—I was originally in that service myself.

After taking leave of the officers of the Bellerophon who had accompanied him, he embraced in the most affection-

ate manner, the nephew of Josephine, who was not to accompany him to St. Helena, and then retired to the after cabin. Here, besides his own companions, was lord Keith, sir George Cockburn, lord Lowther, and the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton. Lord Keith took leave of Bonaparte in the afternoon, and returned on board the Tonnant.

The ex-emperor entered into a very earnest and free conversation with lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton, which continued for two hours. They asked many questions, leading to a review of his public conduct: how he came to involve himself in the protracted and disastrous war with Spain, which seemed to have no adequate object—his motives for the Berlin and Milan *décrees*—for the disastrous war against Russia? What induced him to refuse the terms of peace offered by the allied sovereigns before the capture of Paris in 1814? To all these enquiries he gave answers which partook of a review and defence of his public conduct; and he appeared disposed to encourage the discussion. At length lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton took leave of him, and went ashore.

His cabin was fitted up in great elegance, and his furniture had a magnificence which might have reminded the beholder that he had once been an emperor. His bed was covered with the richest linen; his toilet was of silver; among other superb articles was a magnificent snuff-box, ornamented with an eagle embossed in gold with a crown, flying from Elba to the coast of France. His valet de chambres were sprightly, active, and fine looking men; one had formerly been a servant to the Duke of York. They and all his followers treated him with the greatest respect, always addressing him by the title of emperor.

CHAPTER XX.

The Northumberland sails for St. Helena....His department on Board....His inquisitiveness....Dialogue with the chaplain....Wishes to learn the English language....Of the council held at Rochfort....Of his leaving Elba....First appearance of St. Helena....Napoleon views the dark speck with composure....The Birars....Is removed to Longwood....The limits and guard....His conversation with a countryman....Receives the news from Europe....Napoleon communicates various facts concerning his public life, as to his marriage, the birth of his son....Of the count de Lille, the present King of France.

ON the 11th of August, the Northumberland and the vessels which were to accompany that ship set sail for the island of St. Helena—The voyage is usually about two months—during the voyage the conduct of Bonaparte was conciliatory and accommodating; he conformed to his situation, had few wants, and occasioned less trouble, as the crew of the Northumberland declared, than many lieutenants would have done. He usually passed the evening and morning in writing and reading in his apartment. He breakfasted about ten; at four in the afternoon he usually went into the great cabin and played at chess until five, when the Admiral commonly made his appearance, and Bonaparte accompanied him to dinner. He appeared to have been in the habit of remaining not more than a quarter of an hour at his meals; but to conform to the practice of the English, he now usually continued half an hour at the table. He then left the table and usually walked upon the quarter-deck, accompanied with Bertrand and Count Las Casas, occasionally seating himself on one of the guns, for an hour or more, until the officers of the ship and the rest of his suit rose from the table. A short conversation then usually ensued, and between nine and ten o'clock he retired to his own apartment. This course of life, he observed with great uniformity. He is represented to have ate heartily and extremely fast. His usual drink was claret diluted with two thirds water; he drank very little spirit, merely scenting and moistening his lips with the liquor when it was presented to him. This he is supposed to have done in con-

sequence of his sense of smelling, which was extremely acute. He was generally inquisitive and talked with all classes upon their own particular profession or employment: with the chaplain he talked of religion, and put various interrogatories concerning the different sects in England, their dogmas and forms of worship; with the surgeon he talked of medical subjects, and his professional experience and practice; and with the different officers of the description of service to which they belonged. He was very particular in returning the salutations of the lowest class of people, which is said to have been his invariable custom; he declared that it was the duty of a Sovereign to return the salutes of all men, because he regarded all men as equals by nature and as having the same rights.

On one occasion he catechised the chaplain in the following curious manner:

“How many sacraments does the Church of England acknowledge?”

Two—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Does not the Church of England consider marriage as a sacrament?

No.

What are the tenets of the Church of England?

The tenets of the Church of England are Lutheran, or Episcopal Protestant.

How often is the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered?

In the Churches of the metropolis and other cities and large towns, the eucharist is observed *monthly*; but in the country Churches, where the population is not so large, *quarterly*. The festivals of the nativity of our Saviour or Christmas Day; of the resurrection, or Easter Sunday; the descent of the Holy Ghost, or Whitsunday; and the feast of St. Michael, are the quarterly observations of the eucharist.

Do all the communicants drink out of the same cup?

They do.

Is the bread made use of in the sacrament, common bread?

The bread is of wheat, and the best that can be conveniently procured.

Supposing that wine could not be procured in the administration of the sacrament, would any other liquor be allowed as its substitute?

It is not at all probable that a case of this kind ever occurred: wine being to be procured in every part of the kingdom.

Do the Bishops frequently preach?

Seldom but on extraordinary occasions.

Do they wear the mitre ?

I believe I may venture to say never. Though I cannot affirm whether the Arch-Bishops do or do not wear the mitre, when they crown the King.

Have not the Bishops a seat in the House of Peers ?

They have.

How long is it requisite for persons who are candidates for holy orders at the university, to have resided there ?

Four years—but previous to their becoming members of the university, they are generally seven or eight years at a classical school.

Of how long standing must a person be before the degree of Doctor of Divinity ?

Nineteen years from the time of his matriculation.

Which are the most approved places of education for the candidates for holy orders ?

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Are there many Puritans (meaning Presbyterians) in England ?

There are a great many.

What are the religious tenets of the Church of Scotland ?

The tenets of that Church are Calvinistic. They do not allow Episcopacy, or the government by Bishops. They are Presbyterians, because they hold the government of Priests, and Presbyters or Elders.

To whose custody are the registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths committed ?

They are generally entrusted to the care of the minister ; but it is a more regular proceeding to keep them in a strong chest, which remains in the vestry room of the parish church. This chest is guarded by three locks of different construction ; so that it cannot, or at least ought not, to be opened, without the concurrence of three persons—the minister and the two church wardens ; who, each of them, possess their official and separate key. The idea of keys and locking up, might not excite sensations altogether pleasing to the extraordinary captive, for here he closed his enquiries."

The followers of Bonaparte asserted that he did not betray the least ill-humour, impatience, or depression of mind, from his fatal disasters at Waterloo, to the period of his arrival off St. Helena. That battle was fought for the crown of France, and fortune declared against the Imperial diadem. But he submitted without a complaint and with dignity and complacency, to so dreadful a reverse, so overwhelming a calamity. Bonaparte spoke with captain Beatty of the marines, and being informed that he had served under Sir Sydney Smith, at the siege of Acre, he approached, and seizing him by the ear, with much good humour, exclaimed, "Oh, you rogue, was you there ?" He then inquired for Sir Sydney Smith. He experienced some difficulty from not understanding the

English language, and wished to be made acquainted with the English Newspapers. The Count Las Casas proposed to him to learn the language, and declared that he could qualify him in the course of one month to read an English Newspaper. Bonaparte replied to him: "I well know that you think me a very clever fellow—but be that as it may, I cannot do every thing; and among other things which I should find impracticable, is that of making myself master of the English language in a few weeks." In speaking of his son, Napoleon is represented to have said that he resembled him only in the upper part of his form; "he has one grand big head," was his English expression. A son of Sir Robert Wilson, with whose writings and violent invectives against him, Bonaparte was well acquainted, was pointed out to him—he looked at the young man with a smile, but made no remark. The very absurd and ridiculous reproaches made against Bonaparte in the English papers, because he did not avoid the degradation which awaited him, by the convenient remedy of cutting his own throat, having come to his ears, he observed:—"No, no, I have not enough of the Roman in me, to destroy myself. Suicide is a crime the most revolting to my feelings; nor does any reason present itself to my understanding by which it can be justified. It certainly originates in that species of fear, which we denominate cowardice. For what claims can that man have to courage, who trembles at the frowns of fortune. True heroism consists in being superior to the ills of life, in whatever shape they may challenge him to the combat."

It was stated by Las Casas that the night preceding the voluntary surrender of Napoleon and his followers, to Capt. Maitland, a grand council was held to discuss and decide what course should be adopted in the critical situation in which they found themselves. Previously to this, two small one mast vessels had been purchased, with which it was meditated to hazard a voyage across the Atlantic; and sixteen midshipmen had volunteered their services to man them. In this appalling emergency, it remained to be decided what was to be done—further delay would be fatal. A deep anxiety was depicted on the

countenances of the Assembly, who were crowded into a small room; Napoleon alone was unappalled by the momentous crisis, and with a look unembarrassed, calmly demanded the opinion of his followers. A majority decided for returning to the army in the south of France, where the cause still presented a favourable aspect; but the Emperor instantly rejected this proposition, declaring that he would never be instrumental in bringing a *civil war* upon France. Besides, he said, his political career was ended, and he only wished for a retreat. He then inquired of Las Casas, who had formerly been a naval officer, as to the practicability of the voyage in the small vessels. Las Casas replied, that he was not acquainted with the strength of the vessels, and that it was so long since he had quit the naval service, that he was not competent to decide—the hazard however, he thought must be very great—This project was abandoned. There appearing no other alternative, it was decided to throw themselves upon the justice and generosity of the English. With the exception of Colonel Planat, every person expected that they should have been permitted to find an asylum in England. How severe then, was their disappointment.

In speaking of his return from Elba, Bonaparte said “that he had no other co-operator than the count d’Artois, his two sons, and his daughter-in-law; that it was their measures and those which they inspired to the government, at the Thuilleries, which convinced him that they were insulated in the midst of the nation, and had only in their favour the Emigrant party, and the counter-revolutionists.” On leaving Fontainebleau in 1814, he is said to have remarked “that if the Bourbons govern as the chiefs of the *fifth dynasty* they will succeed; if on the contrary they endeavour to continue the *third*, they will not remain long.” Previously to his leaving Elba, Bonaparte was requested by several of his officers to attempt to ascertain the sentiments of Massena who commanded on the coast, and how the commanding general at Grenoble was affected towards him; but he rejected the proposal, observing: “If I have preserved the hearts of the people and the army, they will bend to their sovereign will, the

inclinations of all particular persons ; if I have lost them, I have nothing to hope from the influence of a few individuals. It is by means of the imaginations and opinions of great bodies that I have always acted." The result proved the correctness of his reasoning. Perhaps this is the only revolution which overturned the governing power, that was not effected by intrigue and conspiracy among the great. But there had evidently been no conspiracy in France for the restoration of the Imperial throne. Not only Bonaparte but Bertrand, and all the officers that were at Elba, asserted that the enterprise was undertaken solely from the impulse of the emperor, and that they had no communication with France whatsoever. It was not the defection of the marshals of the army that corrupted the soldiers, and secured success to the enterprise. It was the attachment of the soldiers and the people to the Emperor, and their disaffection to Louis which decided the fate of the expedition. Even Ney, who was executed for betraying Louis, did not declare for Bonaparte until all his troops, on receiving the proclamations of the emperor, and intelligence of the events at Grenoble, had manifested the most mutinous spirit, and shewed that they were determined to join his standard. It was not Ney, nor Massena, nor any of the marshals who *betrayed* Louis, —it was the *army, the people, the nation, which abandoned* him. It is said that Ney was perfectly sincere on the 8th of March when he told Louis that in five days he would bring him Bonaparte in an iron cage. It was not until after he learnt that the army and the people were for the emperor, that he declared for him, and issued his proclamation. Marshal Soult, Cambaceres, Savary, Fouché, Carnot, and many others, were astonished at the development of public opinion. They said they knew that the Emperor had many partizans, but they had not the least conception that he had so strong and extensive a hold upon the hearts of the army and the people ; that the whole mass of the population was so enthusiastically in his favour.

Having crossed the line, and the vessels making rapid speed off the gulf of Giuna, were soon enabled to direct

their course towards their destination, and on the 14th of October, when the declining rays of the sun illumed a small space of the horizon, the lofty peak of St. Helena was observed at a distance, indistinct and obscure, amidst the surrounding mists with which it is enveloped. The following morning was clear and pleasant, and presented a more distinct view of the towering rock destined to be immortalised as the abode of the fallen hero,—as a monument of the littleness, baseness and meanness of the sovereigns of Europe. The first appearance of the spot destined as the place of their exile and banishment, occasioned great sensation and excitement with the French. With the exception of Napoleon, all of the party came upon deck, and took different stations to obtain a glimpse of the dark peaks of their destined abode. About nine o'clock the vessels were under the sugar-loaf hill. The Island continued to be viewed with the greatest interest; the servants all gazed with open mouths as well as eyes. Napoleon however remained in his cabin apparently unmoved and unconcerned; he did not appear until eleven o'clock, when he ascended the poop, and with a glass examined the Island, and particularly the cannon of the fort. He remained in this situation examining his prison without the least change of countenance, or the slightest symptom of agitation or emotion. So perfect was his command of himself that he rallied madame Bertrand on the elegant stockings she wore on the occasion; the lady could not so well command her feelings, but with a half suppressed sigh and starting tear she exclaimed, "oh, we are indeed too good for St. Helena." On the 17th after sunset, the exile and his followers went on shore and passed unobserved to the house assigned for their temporary residence. The next morning Bonaparte and Cockburn on horseback proceeded up the mountain to Longwood, which was designed to be fitted up as his permanent residence. On returning they stopped at the house of Mr. Balcombe, a merchant, situated about midway up the mountain, on a level spot of about two acres, in the midst of the general ascent. This place is called *The Briers*, and was fixed upon as the residence of Bonaparte, until Longwood could be prepared for his reception.

It is well supplied with pure water, flowing from the declivities, and enlivened with some fruit trees. The house could not be obtained, and the emperor was obliged to take up his abode in an old-gothic building standing on an eminence about fifty yards distant, having one room only below, and two small apartments above. The man who had possessed and inhabited gorgeous palaces in the midst of splendid cities, was crammed into such a small and miserable tenement as this, on an insignificant and barren Island. Count Las Casas and his son remained with Bonaparte, the rest of the party were accommodated at a boarding house. Bonaparte remained at the Briars two months, and lived much as he did on ship-board. He seldom left his apartment before four o'clock in the afternoon, when he went into the garden of Mr. Balcombe, or walked for an hour or more on the lawn before his house. Mrs. Balcombe and her two young daughters, who had recently returned from England, where they had been at school, and had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the French language, frequently accompanied him in these exercises, and engaged in conversations which tended to amuse and divert his mind, now thrown back upon itself, and without any other occupation than to review his past achievements.

These are the young ladies of whom so many absurd and ridiculous stories and anecdotes were related in England, and circulated in their newspapers, and from thence copied, as all follies and falsehoods are, into those of the United States. During the two months that Bonaparte was at this place, he never left it except once, when he called on Major Hudson who resided in a small house at the foot of the hill, and he had but one interview with Admiral Cockburn. As uncomfortable and wretched as was his situation, not a word of complaint escaped him. The contemplated repairs having been in part effected about the middle of December, the renowned exile and his little band of followers were removed to Longwood, which had formerly been the residence of Colonel Skelton, the Lieutenant Governor of the Island. Longwood is situated on a level, on the elevation of the mountain of four or five miles in circumference. Napoleon occupied the prin-

principal building ; count Bertrand and his lady took up their residence in a small cottage about a mile from Longwood, having two small rooms below and two garrets ; count Las Casas and general Gourmand lodged in two small houses near that of their chief. Napoleon had four rooms to himself in the house he occupied. Another building about fifty yards from the principal one was constructing and afterwards completed. On the residence of Napoleon, being established at Longwood, certain limits were prescribed, within which he might exercise without any restraint, but he could not exceed them, unless accompanied by an English officer as a guard. Around this circuit centinels were placed, and a guard of about thirty soldiers was stationed at the entrance to Longwood. The dignified tenant of this homely and secluded mansion, on horseback, or in his carriage, might make a circuit, of a mile or more round a little wood of gum trees ; or on horseback descend from the mountain down the precipices, and traverse four or five miles the skirts of a valley called by the French *la vallee du Silence*, the valley of Silence.

In this valley is a humble rural mansion, inhabited at that time by a Mr. Legg, a simple, honest countryman.

On his first excursion Bonaparte made a stop here, and the humble tenant came to the door, and invited his extraordinary visitor to *get off and come in*. He accordingly dismounted and entered the humble cottage, accompanied by Las Casas, when the following curious dialogue is said to have taken place, between the once ruler of Europe and the countryman.

"Have you a wife? Yes, and please you, Sir Emperor. Have you any children? Six. How much land have you got? A hundred acres. All capable of being cultivated? No, not one half. What profit does it bring you? Not a great deal, but it is much improved since you, Mr. Emperor, came among us. Aye, how do you make that out? Why you must know, Sir Emperor, that we do not grow corn in this here island ; and our green vegetables require a ready market. We have generally had to wait for the arrival of a fleet ; and then, rot'em, they would sometimes all spoil : but now, Sir General, we have a prime sale for every article. Where is your wife? Dang it, and please you, I believe she is scared ; for I see my children have all run out. Send for them and let me be introduced.—Pray have you any good water? Yes, sir ; and wine too, such as is to be had at the Cape."

The fears of the good woman who had absented herself, having in some measure subsided, she was persuaded to make her appearance, but with a countenance of awe and astonishment. After this, these wonderful visitors repeated their calls so frequently, that they were received without constraint, and even the little children used frequently to inquire of their mother, "When will Boney come to see us again?" There was another farmer by the name of Robinson in this valley. He had a daughter, of about seventeen, a handsome country girl, whom the French used to call the "nymph of the valley."

No visitors were permitted to visit Longwood, without permission of the Governor, the Admiral, or Sir George Bingham; those who were invited by the French, were admitted by count Bertrand.

In the month of February, the European news of December and January was received. On learning the fate of Murat, Napoleon observed: The Calabrians are more humane than the English ministry. When it is wished to get rid of a man, a bullet is the most humane and noble means of doing it. This remark getting abroad produced considerable sensation. He expressed great astonishment at the trial of Ney; said it was the most shameful and barefaced violation of the capitulation of Paris—that the Parisian lawyers had displayed but little talent and less courage in his defence. He expressed his astonishment that the duke of Otranto, who was minister of police under him could have signed the decree of proscription. After some remarks by Bertrand and others on the trial and sentence of Ney, a pause ensued, which was followed by a solitary observation from Bonaparte:—"Marshal Ney was a brave man." On looking over the files of English papers, he found only the *Courier* and the *Times*, and enquired very earnestly for the *Morning Chronicle*. In conversing with Dr. Warden he told him that the English papers treated him with great insolence and abuse, and much more so since his fall, and his being in the power of the English than before, which seemed to betray an unworthy and mean spirit, to insult fallen greatness. "In one paper I am called a *liar*, in another a *monster*, in all a *tyrant*, and in one I am called a *coward*, which is what I

did not really expect ;—every other charge I was prepared to look for. I am accused of being a coward, not for fearing to face death in the field of battle, or to look unappalled at the menaces of fate and fortune ; but because I did not cut my own throat, blow out my brains with a pistol, or apply “ the poisoned chalice to my own lips.”

In speaking of the news from France, Napoleon said he was surprised at the violations of all principles of law, justice, and common decency. It was the greatest absurdity, he said, as well as the highest injustice to proscribe Bertrand, Cambronne, and Drouet, who had never taken the oath of fidelity to Louis, nor served under his authority, but on the contrary had never ceased to be under his own command.

“ These men,” said he, “ whose character and fidelity merited the highest approbation, were condemned by generals, who had taken the oath to the king, who had received the cross of St. Louis from his hands, who had worn his cockade, sworn obedience to him, and a few days afterwards, had again mounted the tri-coloured cockade, trampled under foot the white, thrown away the cross of St. Louis with disdain, and made war upon Louis the XVIIIth.” He also observed of the sentences, “ that laws had been applied to the prisoners that had been decreed by the *Republic, and the fourth dynasty against the Bourbons*, and for the maintenance of *that republic and the imperial dynasty*. Is it possible,” said he, “ to conceive such a state of affairs ? It is by virtue of a law made against the Bourbons by an usurped government, during the time that the *legitimate government* resided at Mittau and London, that the same *LEGITIMATE* government now causes people to be executed ! How can you reconcile the *nineteenth year* of the reign of Louis the XVIIIth, with the putting in force, laws made by a rebellious republic, and an usurping government ! The men,” continued he, “ who at Waterloo, defended France against combined Europe, are condemned, and the faithful subjects are they who fought against their country, like General Bourmont, who unfurled the tri-coloured flag with Ney, on the 17th March, and afterwards came to Paris to take the oath of fidelity to me ; was employed in his rank of general of division ; for three months was chief of the staff at Metz, under the orders of Gerard, and on the 14th, and two days before the battle of Waterloo, deserted with two officers of his staff, and went over to the enemy : this Bourmont, who bore witness against Ney, *he is the good Frenchman ; he is the man who has fought for his country !* Never yet,” continued he, “ was human reason treated with such gross contempt. Louis the XVIIIth is the *ally* of the coalesced powers, and signs a treaty with them against France. Nevertheless, a treaty of *peace* is concluded by them with *him*. It is the first time that ever a treaty of peace has been concluded with an *ally* ! By this *very treaty of peace*, his *good allies* have imposed upon his subjects a contribution of seven

hundred millions !! All the proclamations and all the promises made by the allies, of not intending to impose any government upon France, and of waging war solely against *me*, were disregarded as soon as they entered Paris, and had succeeded in disbanding the army of France."

Many events transpired at Longwood, relative to various public transactions. We stated, when passing over that period of Bonaparte's life, that his marriage with Maria Louisa was one of the secret conditions of peace stipulated for in the treaty of Vienna, and that the emperor of Austria considered this as a greater sacrifice than the cession of Provinces. This is the account the Austrians afterwards gave ; but the true state of the case appears to have been quite otherwise. Napoleon, at that time, the first sovereign in the world, had no occasion to form an alliance as one of the conditions of peace ; he would have scorned this. Instead of his being obliged to make use of his power to effect an alliance, a connection with him was an object of the ambition of most of the reigning families in Europe. His divorce excited great interest throughout the continent, particularly at the courts of Russia and Austria. It appears that there was a negotiation for a Russian princess, and the proposals were said to be first opened by Alexander himself at Erfurth. Napoleon is said at first to have preferred a Russian princess, and many of the French who were implicated in the events of the revolution, were alarmed at the idea of an alliance with the house of Austria. The extreme youth of the Russian Princess, and some difficulties of a religious nature, (the mother of the Princess having objected on account of the French Emperor's belonging to the Catholic faith, and being unwilling her daughter should abandon the Greek church) the negotiation was delayed until one was opened with the court of Austria.

After it was known at Vienna, that the French Emperor's divorce was consummated, and that he intended forming an alliance, which was a subject of great interest, Francis sent for Count Narbonne, governor of Triest, well known to have the confidence of his master, and entered into a conversation with him of considerable length, as to the expected alliance of the French Emperor.— Soon after this interview, Count Mitternich and other

courtiers, intimated their wishes that the choice should fall on the arch duchess, Maria Louisa.—Being of the same religion and nineteen years of age, they thought the alliance would be calculated to fulfil the expectations of France. The alliance of the French Emperor they said would disclose the intentions of Napoleon. “If a Princess is not chosen out of some of the reigning families, it will be evident that his intention is to overthrow them all.” Count Narbonne immediately dispatched an extraordinary courier to Paris with an account of what had occurred at Vienna, and Prince Schwartzemberg, then minister at the French capital, received instructions upon this interesting subject. At the same time the King of Bavaria was at Paris and communicated through his son-in-law, Prince Eugene, his wishes that an Austrian Princess should be preferred. Eugene himself was strongly in favour of this alliance, and urged that it would have a more favourable influence than any other, upon the Italians, Belgians, Bavarians, and Germans. A grand council was finally held, and the subject was discussed at large; all agreed that it was an object of the first importance to secure an heir to the throne; but great division existed as to where the alliance ought to be formed; there were advocates for a Russian, an Austrian and a Saxon Princess; and there was a party who wished to have *no* Princess, and strenuously insisted that the Emperor ought to marry a French woman. The result was, that two thirds of the votes were for an Austrian Princess, and Prince Eugene was authorized to conclude with the Austrian Ambassador a marriage contract between the French Emperor and the Archduchess Maria Louisa. This negotiation was begun and terminated in one day. As we have already stated, the marriage ceremony was celebrated at Vienna, the Archduke Charles representing Bonaparte; but it was repeated at Paris. Marriage in France, is regarded, at least by the canons of the church, as a sacrament; and the solemnization of the Emperor’s consisted of two distinct ceremonies, the one *civil*, and the other *spiritual*; the former was performed in the Palace of St. Cloud, and the latter in the great hall of the Museum Napoleon. The occasion brought together all the beauty and splen-

dour of Europe. The courts of the Queen of Naples, of the Queen of Westphalia, the Vice Queen of Italy, the ladies of the French court, and all the principal ladies of France, Belgium, Holland, Piedmont, Tuscany, and Rome ; the Lords Spiritual and Temporal ; the foreign ministers and the most distinguished civil and military officers, formed an assemblage which for magnificence and splendour has no example. A *fete* was given by the French court, and another by the city of Paris. Schwartz-
enberg also gave one in honour of his master, which resulted disastrously. In the midst of the festivity the curtains took fire, and in a moment the room was enveloped in flames. A scene of confusion and alarm ensued. Napoleon escaped with his young Queen in his arms.—The Princess Schwartz-
enberg effected her escape, but being uneasy about one of her children, returned back to the hall, to look for it, and was suffocated by the flames. Twenty ladies and gentlemen fell victims to this shocking accident. This disaster, reminded all present of the more serious catastrophe, which happened in the Champs Elysees, at the marriage of Louis 16th, when near two thousand persons perished ; and was afterwards regarded as an omen of the melancholy fate of that Prince. Many also considered this sad occurrence, as an alarming omen, and even Napoleon seems to have had some impression of this kind made upon his mind ; for at the battle of Dresden news being received that Schwartz-
enberg was killed, Bonaparte observed “ That was a brave man, but nevertheless there is something consoling in his death. It was against *him* then that the fatal omen that occurred at his ball, on the marriage day was directed. *We* are clear of it.” He soon however learnt that it was Moreau and not Schwartz-
enberg that had been killed.

The French at Longwood, seemed to take much satisfaction in detailing the particulars of these events. The birth of the young king of Rome, was announced by the discharge of cannon ; the arrangement was, that if the Queen was delivered of a male, one hundred cannon was to be fired, if of a female, twenty five. The attention of all was said to be directed to the number of guns, and

when the twenty sixth was fired, a general shout of joy resounded throughout Paris, and an immense crowd by a spontaneous movement, flocked to the carousel and the garden of the Thuilleries. With the exception of England, all the Sovereigns in Europe sent ambassadors extraordinary to congratulate the French court on the auspicious event. What a wonderful people! How different was this conduct from that of Revolutionary France, when kings and princes were regarded only as *men*, and the *people* were considered as the only true Sovereigns. Whilst on the subject of royal weddings we will state another curious fact. It is said that it was the Princess Charlotte eldest sister of George the 4th, Queen of Wirtemberg who made *the match*, to use a trite phrase between Prince Jerome, and the daughter of the king of Wirtemberg by his first wife, which connected Napoleon's family with that of Brunswick, and formed a new alliance with that of Russia. Madame Bertrand said "Napoleon's family is related to all the reigning families in Europe, even to that of Prussia, for some time back a niece of Murat, married a Prince of Hohenzollern."

It is a singular fact that after the Bourbons had tried every expedient to effect a counter revolution, and encouraged various attempts to assassinate the first consul, and a short time after the dreadful conspiracy of 1804, the present king of France, then the Count de Lille, addressed a letter to Napoleon, written with his own hand. He gave it to the Abbe Montesquieu, member of the provisional government in 1814, and he handed it to Le Brun, then one of the consuls, who gave it to Napoleon.

The following is a transcript :

"You delay a long time in restoring to me my throne. You lose a precious opportunity which you will never have again. Without me you can never render France happy, and without you I can never maintain her glory—choose your rank—he assured of whatever lot you desire for your friends. Every thing you engage for shall be ratified."

To this curious letter the first consul returned an answer the next morning, in the following words :

"I have received your letter, and thank you for the flattering expressions it contains of me; but neither yourself, nor any other prince of your family, ought ever to desire to enter France again—to accomplish that, you must trample over the carcasses of five hun-

dred thousand Frenchmen. I am alive to the unheard of misfortunes of your family, and I will endeavour to do every thing in my power to secure you a retreat and tranquility."

CHAPTER XXI.

Napoleon employs himself in writing his own memoirs....Of the infernal machine....Of the Duc D' Enghein....Of Talleyrand....Las Casas' opinion of the French marshals....Of the conspiracy of Georges, Pichegru and Moreau....Change in the arrangements at Longwood....Protests against them....Expences of the establishment....Commissioners of the allied powers....Rigour of the regulations, situation, and some account of the Island....Napoleon's demise....His funeral and interment....Report of Physicians....His will.

BONAPARTE and his associates, at Longwood, employed themselves in writing a history of his reign and life. The manuscript of this work was examined by some of the English who visited Longwood; it was written under the eye and inspection of Napoleon. In this history it is stated, that seven attempts were made by the Bourbons and royalists to assassinate Bonaparte. All of them were discovered before they were brought to maturity, except the plot of the infernal machine. This attempt was made on the 3d Nivose (24th December) 1800. That evening an opera was performed in the hall of the Oratorio, and the artists were desirous to have Napoleon attend. Having been extensively occupied in business during the day, he declined, but was finally over-persuaded by his wife. He set out in his carriage, accompanied by Bessieres and Lasnes, with his usual escort of pages, outriders, and a dozen horse grenadiers. At the corner of rue St. Hilaire, a small two-wheeled cart was observed with a cask mounted upon it, exactly resembling those which were used for watering the streets. This was the *infernal machine*, which had been prepared by the Chouans, who had a short time before arrived from England, where the French say this machine was contrived and prepared for the destruction of the first consul. On perceiving the carriage, Imolan, one of the conspirators advanced a few paces to ascertain whether it was Napoleon, and being discovered received a blow from one of the grenadiers, which knocked him down; but springing up, he ran to the machine and fired it; the explosion however did not take place until the carriage had turned the corner. The coachman being in liquor mistook the report for a salute fired in honour of the consul, and cracked his whip at the horses, which being also frightened, fortunately made great speed from the scene of danger. One man only of the escort, not having turned the corner, was thrown from his horse and wounded. Bonaparte represen-

ted, that before he heard the explosion, he felt a rocking motion as if the carriage had been borne upon the waves of the sea, and in an instant the windows of the carriage were shivered to pieces, and he saw the roofs of houses falling. Josephine, Bonaparte's wife, and Caroline, his sister, with general Rapp, were in a carriage about one hundred paces in the rear of the Consul's, and the machine exploded between them; they were dreadfully frightened but not injured. Five or six houses were destroyed by the explosion, and about a dozen persons killed, and thirty wounded. The conspirators, who were secured, were immediately brought to trial before the criminal tribunal of Paris. St. Regent and Carbon were found guilty and executed; Imolan escaped to America where it is said he turned monk. From the disclosures during the trial, it appeared that the plot was contrived by Georges, then in Brittany, and the Count d'Artois, then in London. This base and villainous attempt to destroy the first consul and endanger the lives of the citizens, excited the highest indignation in Paris. The manuscript also stated, that after the Duc d'Enghein had been sentenced, he wrote a letter to Napoleon, in which he proposed, "if pardon was granted to him, to discover every thing he knew of the plots of the enemies of France, and to serve the first consul faithfully."—This letter was detained by Talleyrand until the fate of the unfortunate duke was decided. It is added, that if this letter had been delivered in season, the first consul might have been induced to pardon the young prince.

With respect to Talleyrand, the whole French party uniformly expressed the same opinion concerning him. They manifested the most exalted opinion of his talents; but considered him as entirely destitute of principle. The motives of his conduct were always to be discovered in objects connected with his own aggrandizement, and with,

————— piling up canker'd
Heaps, of strange achieved gold.

At the first interview which took place between Moreau, Pichegru and Georges, which was in the Boulevard de la Madeleine at night, the following conversation is said to have occurred :

"Here I am," cried Pichegru, "there is not a moment's time to be lost in overthrowing the First Consul." Moreau answered, "Against the First Consul, living, I can undertake nothing; but I can undertake any thing against the First Consul, dead. Kill the First Consul; and the senate, the people, and the army will unanimously nominate me in his place. I will change the commanders of the troops encamped at Boulogne, and I will name a commission to try you, Pichegru; acquitted, you will be appointed second consul." "Very well," cried Georges, "but in that case I must be third consul." "That is impossible," said Moreau. "If it were known that I had ever seen you, I should be a lost man; I should scarcely have my valet de chambre on my side." "This is all a farce," said Georges. "You mean to betray us. You, Moreau and Pichegru! You are both two blues. When you get into power you will have us shot. I declare frankly to you that, blue for blue, Bonaparte is much better than any body else."

After this conference, Moreau was to sound his friends; but he did not disclose to them, the extent of his views. The first step was to dispatch the First Consul; various schemes were adopted; six desperadoes, armed with concealed poniards, were to assassinate him on parade the moment he went to the gate of the carousal to receive petitions: but the parade did not take place at the day it was supposed it would. Another scheme was, that thirty fellows, equipped in the uniform of the chasseurs of the guard were to charge his picquet, which did not consist of more than fifteen men, who it was expected would be nearly all killed by the first discharge of pistols, when passing to Malmaison, which was usually in the night, and then to attack the carriage and massacre Bonaparte with their poniards. The plot was discovered before the time of execution; and it being ascertained that Pichegru and Georges were in Paris, the city was blockaded and no person suffered to go out of it without a pass. Pichegru and Georges were finally discovered and secured, and the latter, with a number of others, was tried and executed. Pichegru underwent several examinations in prison; he denied his having come to Paris with Georges, or ever having seen him; but afterwards learning that every thing was known, he put an end to his own existence in prison. Moreau was tried and found guilty, but from his great services and popularity with the army, was sentenced to be banished for two years, and immediately sailed for America.

The arrangements respecting Bonaparte and his followers, underwent a change in 1816, which subjected them to much greater restrictions and inconveniences. In June of that year, three commissioners, one in behalf of Austria, one of Russia, and one of France, arrived at St. Helena, with admiral Malcombe. Sir Hudson Lowe, then Governor of the island, announced their arrival to the ex-emperor, and communicated the treaty concluded between Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia, on the 2d of August 1815.

Count Montholon was instructed to protest against this treaty, which he accordingly did. The protest or declaration stated that Napoleon was not the *prisoner* of England; that he voluntarily threw himself into the arms of the English nation, as a private individual, and expected to enjoy its hospitality, and the protection of its laws; that his being in the power of the English nation, gave it no right to deprive him of his liberty; that he had never been even in the power of Austria, Russia or Prussia, which states had neither in fact, much less in right, any constraint over the person of Napoleon whatsoever; and their interference could only be considered as a coalition of four of the greatest powers in Europe for the oppression of *one man*. He stated that he had been entirely mistaken in the reliance he had placed on the influence of a people calling themselves free, upon their government, and that he might have experienced in all probability greater justice and humanity from the emperor of Austria, his father-in-law, or even from the emperor of Russia or Prussia. He intimated that he might have put himself at the head of the army of the Loire, and secured terms guaranteeing his personal rights. The protest complained of the injustice and cruelty of Napoleon's being sent three thousand leagues from Europe, and confined on a rock in a

strange and inhospitable climate, and of the severe and unnecessary restrictions imposed upon him, especially since the arrival of the present Governor; of the vexations and mortifications, which seemed to have no other object than to harass and oppress him; being deprived of all newspapers excepting a few straggling copies of the Times; of books sent to him by their authors, and his friends, and of letters, although delivered to the Governor unsealed to be sent to Longwood—of the impossibility of communicating by letter in consequence of the forms and regulations imposed; of the general tenor of the restrictions to which he was subjected; of his wretched situation at Longwood, destitute of water and shade; of the obstructions to intercourse with Longwood, which amounted to little short of a prohibition,—all of which restrictions, oppressions, and grievances, appeared to have no other object than to afflict the illustrious subject of them, and to shorten his days.

The British government had settled the expenditure of Longwood at eight thousand pounds a year; including the salary of the purveyor of supplies, the salary of the officers and surgeon, and one thousand pounds for repairs; making in all two thousand seven hundred and thirty pounds, and leaving only the sum of five thousand two hundred and seventy pounds for the other expenses of the establishment.

But so scanty was the supply of provisions, that the *maitre d'hôtel* declared that there was not one third enough to meet the requirements of the establishment. The consequence was, that Napoleon was obliged to break up his plate, and dispose of one thousand pounds-worth of it.

Bonaparte offered to receive the commissioners as private individuals, and in the same manner he did other distinguished strangers, but they declined an introduction upon these terms.

Previously to this period, sir Hudson Lowe had established new regulations, restraining the limits formerly prescribed, and increasing the embarrassments of the French. The pretence for restricting the limits was that Bonaparte never used them; and even these limits were denied to his followers, who were allowed to remain on the *high road* only, and were not permitted to turn to the right or the left of it; and Napoleon and all his suit were prohibited from the use of speech; they were forbidden to speak to any person they might meet farther than to say, "how d'ye do," or a customary salutation. A visitor at Longwood, who had obtained a pass for that purpose, was not permitted to converse with any other person than Napoleon, unless he had a *license* so to do, expressed in his pass.

Indignant at these oppressive and wantonly cruel regulations, the illustrious exile declared "that considering all laws and every consideration of respect towards him were violated, he had refused to receive the governor again, regarding him in no other light than that of a turnkey."

At this period, the governor of St. Helena adopted such regulations as he pleased, and enforced them as he pleased, limited only by the instructions of Lord Bathurst, which gave him general discretion; thus the man who had long exercised almost absolute power himself, became subject to the arbitrary and capricious tyranny of a provincial Governor. He had at last an opportunity of experiencing what

arbitrary power is, and to learn by experience that one man cannot safely be entrusted with the liberty and rights of another. This is a deposit too precious to be trusted in the hands of any mortal. Those who would preserve their liberty and their rights must keep them in their own hands; they can confide them only to the sacred depository of *laws*,—and laws over which they themselves have a control. Bonaparte never intended to be a tyrant, but he very readily adopted an idea that the rights and liberties of Frenchmen were safer in his hands than in their own. It is very natural for man to wish to have the *safe-keeping* of the rights of others, and it has always happened that they have been kept *safely*, for after possessing them some time, the keeper begins to regard them as his own, and keeps them accordingly.

Subsequently to the period of which we were speaking an act of Parliament was passed relative to St. Helena, which restrained the *arbitrary power* of the governor, but the severe and rigorous treatment, underwent little or no relaxation. The life of the illustrious but fallen hero, was prolonged cruelly oppressed and tormented as he was, until the month of May 1821, when he closed his wonderful career. Whether it was the climate, a broken spirit, the severe and rigorous treatment he experienced, or *poison* which occasioned his death; or all or none of these causes, is a question upon which public opinion was, and still continues much divided.

The climate of St. Helena is most astonishingly variable; situated within the tropics, and from its elevation and humidity of atmosphere, it is subject to the greatest changes of heat and cold. It is hotter and colder than any other place in the same latitude. That a climate so entirely dissimilar to that of France, should have been extremely unfavourable to the health of the illustrious exile, there can be no doubt; and the great change which took place in his habits, the most active life, being succeeded by one without any active employment, and with little exercise, must have had an unfavourable influence upon his constitution. Antemarchi, one of his physicians, attributed his death wholly to the climate. But whatever may have been the cause, Napoleon's health had been declining for some time, particularly for the six weeks preceding his death, although no serious apprehensions were entertained but about two weeks previous to his demise. On the 5th of May, 1821, Napoleon Bonaparte expired at the island of St. Helena, aged fifty-one years, ten months and twenty-five days. His body was dissected, and his disease was declared by the English physicians who attended upon him, to be a cancer in the stomach; but many entertained suspicions that his death was occasioned by a slow poison. It might have been convenient to dispose of a man, whom it cost about two millions of dollars a year to guard in the prison to which he had been consigned; but there is no sufficient proof of this suspicion, which is of a character too serious to be entertained without further evidence than that arising from the situation of the parties. It is however well known, that in all ages of the world, kings have not been very scrupulous about their means, and it is not less clear that the *legitimates* were not troubled with tender consciences; the fate of the unfortunate Paul of Russia is not yet forgotten; after he withdrew from the sea-

lition against France, his death was confidently predicted to happen by a certain time, wagers were made upon it in London; and *within the time he was assassinated*. It was stated that Napoleon a few days before his death requested to be dressed in his uniform of a field marshal, with his boots on, and that he died thus equipped in his camp bed; but this was afterwards contradicted. It is admitted that he died, as he had lived, with the courage of a hero, and as became a great man. He was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and met the last enemy with the same calmness and heroism he had faced danger in the field. He made his will and designated the spot where he wished his body to be interred. The last words he uttered were *tele-armee*; but what connection they had in his mind could not be ascertained. After his death he remained in state, dressed in his green uniform with red facings, and all his stars and orders. His funeral, which took place on the 9th, was magnificent. The spot designated for his remains is about a mile from Longwood house, between two willow trees. The body was enclosed first in a lead coffin, which was enclosed in a mahogany one, and that in an oak coffin, which was placed on a black car, and followed by a procession of the military staff, and all the naval officers. As the procession emerged from the grounds it was received by a line of 2000 troops drawn up by the road side with four bands. As soon as the corpse passed, the troops followed to the place of burial, where they halted and formed in the road winding along the valley, while the procession on foot descended on a road made for the occasion. The body was borne to its place of final repose by twenty-four grenadiers, and deposited in a large stone vault prepared for its reception, under the discharge of eleven pieces of artillery, during the intervals of which, minute guns were fired. The chamber was then closed with a large slab, the edges of which were secured to the sides of the vault, and a liquid body of Roman cement applied to the whole surface. The whole vault was afterwards filled up with stone, and a plain slab laid over it. Napoleon Bertrand, son of the marshal, was chief mourner. The following is the order of the procession:

Napoleon Bertrand, son of the
marshal.

The priests in full
robes.

Dr. Arnott, 20th regt.

Bonaparte's physician.

Grenadiers. { THE BODY

{ In a car, drawn by { Grenadiers.
four horses.

[24 grenadiers—12 on each side, to carry the
body down a steep hill, where
the car could not go.]

Count Mon. { Bonaparte's horse, { Marshal Ber-
tholon { led by two servants, { tholon.

Servants. { Mad. Bertrand and daughter, { Servants.
in an open vehicle.

Servants.

Naval officers.

Staff officers.

Members of council.

Gen. Coffin.

Marq. de Montcheno.

The admiral.	The governor.
Servants. {	Lady Low and daughter, in an open vehicle. }
Servants.	Servants.
Dragoons.	
St. Helena volunteers.	
St. Helena regiment.	
St. Helena artillery.	
Sixty-sixth regiment.	
Royal marines.	
Twentieth regiment.	
Royal artillery.	

The physicians who were present at the dissection of the body of Bonaparte, with the exception of his French physician, Doct. Antomarchi, made the following report.

Longwood, St. Helena, May 6.

Report of appearances on dissection of the body of Napoleon Bonaparte:

On a superficial view, the body appeared very fat, which state was confirmed by the first incision down its centre, where the fat was upwards of one inch and a half over the abdomen. On cutting through the cartilages of the ribs, and exposing the cavity of the thorax, a trifling adhesion of the left pleura was found to the pleura costalis. About three ounces of reddish fluid were contained in the left cavity, and nearly eight ounces in the right. The lungs were quite sound. The pericardium was natural, and contained about an ounce of fluid. The heart was of the natural size, but thickly covered with fat. The auricles and ventricles, exhibited nothing extraordinary, except that the muscular parts appeared rather paler than natural.

Upon opening the abdomen, the omentum was found remarkably fat, and on exposing the stomach, that viscus was found the seat of extensive disease. Strong adhesion connected the whole superior surface, particularly about the pyloric extremity in the concave surface of the left lobe of the liver; and, in separating these, an ulcer, which penetrated the coats of the stomach, was discovered one inch from the pylorus, sufficient to allow the passage of the little finger. The internal surface of the stomach, to nearly its whole extent, was a mass of cancerous disease or schirrous portion advancing to cancer; this was particularly noticed near the pylorus. The cardiac extremity, for a small space near the termination of the œsophagus, was the only part appearing in a healthy state. The stomach was found nearly filled with a large quantity of fluid, resembling coffee grounds.

The convex surface of the left lobe of the liver adhered to the diaphragm. With the exception of the adhesions occasioned by the disease in the stomach, no unhealthy appearance presented itself in the liver.

The remainder of the abdominal viscera were in a healthy state.

A slight peculiarity in the formation of the left kidney was observed."

Bonaparte had received several wounds: he received a slight wound on the head from the halbut of an English sergeant at Toulon; one above the knee by a spent ball at Ratisbon, and one near the ankle, a deep musket-ball graze, in Italy.

It is not the intention to attempt to draw the character of this most extraordinary man. It is impossible, that a man, who has so extensively exercised such a controuling influence over the affairs of the age in which he lived, can be judged of with any degree of impartiality by his cotemporaries. The great events in which he took a part, and which have been directly or indirectly traced to him as their cause, have effected the opinions, the prejudices, the passions, and the real or imaginary interests of almost every individual in Europe.

To produce a revolution in favour of liberty among a people subject to an arbitrary or oppressive government, to inspire them with a spirit of freedom, to rouse them to a defence of their rights, and to conduct them safely through such a contest and establish a free government upon the immutable basis of "equality and liberty," gives the highest claim to patriotism, virtue and talents united, of which history affords any example. This is a character which belongs to Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and other worthies of our own glorious revolution, but it is a character to which Bonaparte can make no claim. He had nothing to do with the origin of the French revolution, and in no way contributed to arouse its spirit; but he might have conducted it to a favourable result, and instead of consolidating a great empire, he could have established a free, representative government, founded on the immutable basis of justice, equality and liberty. He has therefore only left the character of a HERO, A CONQUEROR, AND A POWERFUL SOVEREIGN.—This character he has the most undisputed claim to. His military career forms a new epoch in the science of war, and is characterized by a boldness and celerity of movement, by comprehensiveness of views, profoundness of conception, energy of execution, daring and desperate exploits, astonishing victories, extent of conquest, and a long course of uninterrupted success, of which the world affords no example, and which fully entitles him to the character of

NAPOLEON THE GREAT.

This day, April 14, 1821, at Longwood, in the Island of St. Helena.

This is my testament, or act of my last will :

I leave to the Comte de Montholon, 2,000,000 francs, as a proof of my satisfaction for the attentions he has paid to me for these six years, and to indemnify him for the losses which my residence in St. Helena has occasioned him.

I leave to the Comte Bertrand 500,000 francs.

I leave to Marchand, my first valet de chambre, 400,000 francs; the services he has performed for me are those of a friend. I desire that he may marry a widow, sister or daughter of an officer or soldier of my old guard; to Saint Denis, 100,000 francs; to Navarre 100,000 francs; to Pijeron, 100,000 francs; to Archambaud, 50,000 francs; to Cuvier, 50,000 francs; to Chandelle, *idem*.

To the Abbe Visnale, 100,000 francs. I desire that he may build his house near Ponte Nevo de Rosina.

To Count Las Casas, 100,000 francs.

To Count Lavalette, 100,000 francs.

To the Surgeon-in-Chief, Larrey, 100,000 francs. He is the most virtuous man I have known.

To General Lefevre Desuouettes, 100,000 francs.

To General Drouet, 100,000 francs.

To General Chambronne, 100,000 francs.

To the children of General Mouton Duvernaix, 100,000 francs.

To the children of the brave Labedoyere, 100,000 francs.

To the children of General Girard, killed at Ligny, 100,000 francs.

To the children of General Chartrau, 100,000 francs.

To the children of the virtuous General Travost, 100,000 francs.

To General Lallemand, the elder, 100,000 francs.

To Costa Bastilicia, also 100,000 francs.

To General Clausel, 100,000 francs.

To the Baron de Menville, 100,000 francs.

To Arnault, author of Marius, 100,000 francs.

To Colonel Marbot, 100,000 francs: I request him to continue to write for the defence and the glory of the French armies, and to confound the calumniators and the apostates.

To the Baron Bignon, 100,000 francs: I request him to write the history of French Diplomacy from 1792 to 1815.

To Poggi de Talaro 100,000 francs.

To the Surgeon Emmery, 100,000 francs.

These sums shall be taken from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815, and from the interest at the rate of 5 per cent since July 1815; the account of which shall be adjusted with the bankers by the Counts Montholon, Bertrand, and Marchand.

These legacies, in the case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children, and in their default, shall revert to the capital.

I institute the Counts Montholon, Bertrand, and Marchand my testamentary executors.

This present testament, written entirely by my own hand, is signed and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

April 24, 1821, Longwood.

This is my codicil to the act of my last will:—

On the liquidation of my civil list of Italy,—such as money, jewels, plate, linen, coffers, caskets, of which the Viceroy is the depositary, and which belong to me—I dispose of two millions, which I leave to my most faithful servants. I hope that, without their showing any cause, my son Eugene Napoleon will discharge them faithfully. He cannot forget the forty millions which I have given him in Italy or by the right (parage) of his mother's inheritance.

To the Comte Montholon 200,000 francs, 100,000 of which he will pay into the chest, for the same use as the above, to be employed according to my dispositions in the discharge of legacies of conscience.

This codicil is written in my own hand, signed and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

This is also another codicil, or act of my last will:

The £3000 sterling which we have given to the Comte and the Countesse Montholon, if they have been paid, are to be deducted and charged in account against the legacies which we have made him by our testament. If they have not been paid, our bills shall be cancelled.

In consequence of the legacy made by our testament to the Comte

Montholon, the pension of 20,000 francs granted to his wife is annulled, Comte Montholon is directed to pay it to her.

The administration of such succession until its entire liquidation, requiring expenses in offices, for journeys, commissions, consultations, pleadings, we intended that our testamentary executors shall retain 3 per cent on all the legacies, both on the 6,800,000 francs, and on the sums bequeathed by the codicils.

The sums proceeding from these deductions shall be deposited in the hands of a treasurer, and expended on the order of our testamentary executors.

We appoint Comte Las Casas, or in his default his son, and in his default Gen. Drouot, treasurer.

This present codicil is entirely written with our own hand, and sealed with our arms. NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821, Longwood.

This is my codicil and act of my last will.

From the funds remitted in gold to the Empress Maria Louisa, my very dear and well-beloved spouse, at Orleans, in 1814, there remain due to me two millions, which I dispose of by the present codicil, in order to recompense my most faithful servants, whom I besides recommend to the protection of my dear Maria Louisa.

I leave 200,000 francs to Comte Montholon, 100,000 francs of which he shall pay into the chest of the treasurer for the same purpose as above, to be employed, according to my dispositions, in legacies of conscience.

This codicil is written with my own hand: Signed and sealed with my arms. NAPOLEON.

Monsieur Lafitte.—I remitted to you in 1815, at the moment of my departure from Paris, a sum of nearly six millions, for which you gave me a double receipt. I have cancelled one of these receipts and I have charged Count de Montholon to present to you the other receipt, in order that you may after my death deliver to him the said sum with interest at the rate of 5 per cent from the 1st of July, 1815, deducting the payments with which you have been charged in virtue of my order.

I desire that the liquidation of your account be settled by mutual consent between you, Comte Montholon, Comte Bertrand, and the Sieur Marchand; and that this liquidation being adjusted, I give you by these presents full and absolute discharge of the sum.

I also remitted to you a box containing my medallion, I beg you will deliver it to Comte Montholon.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur Lafitte, that he may have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

NAPOLEON.

Longwood, in the island of St. Helena, April 25, 1821.

This testament was presented on the 10th of December, 1821, to the Prerogative Court of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, deposited and registered, according to the affidavit, in the hands of Mr. Fox, notary and attorney of the court.

APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF EXTRACTS FROM

"A VOICE FROM ST. HELENA :"

BY DR. B. E. O'MEARA.

TOGETHER WITH INTERESTING TABLES.

SINCE this work has been preparing for the press, various extracts have appeared in the public papers, from a work not yet published, entitled "*Napoleon in exile, or a Voice from St. Helena.*" The Author is Doctor Barry E. O'Meara, who, as we have before stated, left his situation as Surgeon on board the *Belerophon*, for that of Surgeon to Bonaparte; he accompanied him to St. Helena, and remained there during his exile. As his opportunities of conversing with the ci-devant Emperor, were very great, and as he is considered a man of truth and honour, there can be no doubt that the details, and anecdotes he communicates, have high claims to authenticity and truth. This work contains two volumes, and so far as we can judge from the extracts which we have read, is written in a style of great naivete, and possesses much interest. The conversations of the author with the ex-Emperor, purport to have been written out at the time they occurred, and exhibit his private opinions, and observations upon the important events and transactions in the history of Europe for the last thirty years, both in the field and the cabinet, and of the Generals, Ministers, Embassadors, Sovereigns, &c. who have been concerned in them. The work contains strong internal evidence of its genuineness, many of the facts, and remarks, as well as the diction, being of a character, that shew they could have come from no other source than that of Napoleon himself.

In addition to this, the author has prefixed the following certificate, or sentence, in a fac-simile of Napoleon's hand writing, the original of which is in the author's possession.

"Je prie mes parens et amis de croire tout ce que le Docteur O'Meara leur dira relativement a la position ou je me trouve et aux sentimens que je conserve. S'il voit ma bonne Louise je la prie de permettre qu'il lui baise les mains."

NAPOLÉON.

"25 Juillet, 1818."

This shows the high confidence Napoleon had in the author.

We here subjoin some extracts from this work. The following are the sentiments he expressed of Josephine, to whom he appears to have been very strongly attached.

"I pray my parents and friends to believe all that Doct. O'Meara will say to them, relative to the situation in which I am, and to the sentiments which I advance. If he see my good Louise, I pray her to permit him to kiss her hands."

NAPOLÉON.

Bonaparte's Conversation with Doct. O' Meara, with regard to the Empress Josephine.

"Had some conversation with him relative to the Empress Josephine, of whom he spoke in terms the most affectionate. His first acquaintance with that amiable being, commenced after the disarming of the sections in Paris, subsequently to the 13th of Vendémiaire, 1795. 'A boy of twelve or thirteen years old presented himself to me,' continued he, 'and intreated that his father's sword (who had been a general of the republic,) should be returned. I was so touched by his affectionate request, that I ordered it to be given to him. This boy was Eugene Beauharnois. On seeing the sword, he burst into tears. I felt so much affected by his conduct, that I noticed and praised him much. A few days afterwards, his mother came to return me a visit of thanks. I was much struck with her appearance, and still more with her *esprit*. This first impression was daily strengthened, and marriage was not long in following.'"

"And again—'Josephine was subject to nervous attacks when in affliction. She was really an amiable woman—elegant, charming and affable. *Era la dama la piu graziosa di Francia*. She was the goddess of the toilet: all the fashions originated with her; every thing she put on appeared elegant; and she was so kind, so humane—she was the best woman in France.'—In another place he says of her—'Josephine died worth about eighteen millions of francs—She was the greatest patroness of the fine arts that had been known in France for a series of years. She had frequently little disputes with Denon, and even with myself, as she wanted to procure fine statues and pictures for her own gallery instead of the Museum. Now I always acted to please the people; and whenever I obtained a fine statue or a valuable picture, I sent it there for the benefit of the nation. Josephine was grace personified. Every thing she did was with a peculiar grace and delicacy. I never saw her act inelegantly during the whole time we lived together. She had grace even *en se couchant*. Her toilet was a perfect arsenal, and she effectually defended herself against the assaults of time.'"

He appeared to be very fond of the Empress Marie Louise, and several times insisted upon Doctor O'Meara's reading from the Observer, an account of her having fallen from her horse into the Po, and narrowly escaped drowning, with which he appeared much affected. He always believed Marie Louise preserved her attachment to him to the last. He always kept a picture of her, and of his son, upon the mantle-piece.

"'I have,' continued he, 'been twice married. Political motives induced me to divorce my first wife, whom I tenderly loved. She, poor woman, fortunately for herself, died in time to prevent her witnessing the last of my misfortunes. Let Marie Louise be asked with what tenderness and affection I always treated her. After her forcible separation from me, she vowed in the most feeling terms to **** her ardent desire to enjoy me, extolled with many tears both myself and my conduct to her, and bitterly lamented her cruel separation, avowing her ardent desire to join me in my exile.'"

"I ventured," said Mr. O'Meara, "upon another occasion, to express my surprise to Napoleon that the Empress Marie Louise had not made some exertion in his behalf. "I believe," replied the Emperor, "that Marie Louise is just as much a state prisoner as I am myself, except that more attention is paid to decorum in the restraints imposed upon her. I have always had occasion to praise the conduct of my good Louise, and I believe that it is totally out of her power to assist me; moreover, she is young and timorous. It was, perhaps, a misfortune to me that I had not married a sister of the Emperor Alexander, as proposed to me by Alexander himself, at Erfurth. But there were inconveniences in that union, arising from her religion. I did not like to allow a Russian priest to be the confessor of my wife, as I considered that he would have been a spy in the Thuilleries for Alexander. It has been said that my union with Marie Louise was made a stipulation in the treaty of peace with Austria, which is not true. I should have spurned the idea. It was first proposed by the Emperor Francis himself, and by Metternich to Narbonne."

Of his own family, and particularly of the females, he appears to have been fond of indulging the recollection.

"My excellent mother," said he, "is a woman of courage and of great talent, more of a masculine than of a feminine nature, proud and high-minded. She is capable of selling every thing, even to her chemise for me. I allowed her a million a year, besides a palace, and giving her many presents. To the manner in which she formed me at an early age, I principally owe my subsequent elevation. [My opinion is that the future good or bad conduct of a child depends entirely upon the mother.] She is very rich. Most of my family considered that I might die, that accidents might happen, and consequently took care to secure something.—They have preserved a greater part of their property." Of Joseph he thus speaks: —"His virtue and talents are those of a private character; and for such, nature intended him; he is too good to be a great man. He has no ambition. He is very like me in person, but handsomer. He is extremely well informed, but his learning is not that which is fitted for a king; nor is he capable of commanding an army."

Our author gives the following account of Bonaparte's room at Longwood:

"It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surbase. Two small windows, without pullies, looked towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. Window curtains of white long cloth, a small fire place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantle-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantle-piece hung the

portrait of Marie Louise, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hand of the mother. A little more to the right hung also a miniature picture of the Empress Josephine, and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the consular watch engraved with the cypher B, hung by a chain of the plaited hair of Marie Louise, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers, and an old book-case with green blinds stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs, painted green, were standing here and there about the room. Before the back-door, there was a screen covered with nankeen, and between that and the fire place, an old fashioned sofa covered with white long cloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning gown, white loose trousers and stockings all in one. A chequered red madras upon his head, and his shirt collar open without any cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay, in confusion upon the carpet, a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the foot of the sofa, facing him, was suspended a portrait of the Empress Marie Louise, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases, with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty Emperor of France nothing was present except a superb wash-stand, containing a silver basin and water-jug of the same metal, in the left hand corner."

The author gives the following interesting account of the remarks and views of Bonaparte as to his meditated invasion of England.

"I asked Napoleon if he really intended to invade England—and if so, what were his plans?—He replied, "I would have headed it myself. I had given orders for two fleets to proceed to the West Indies. Instead of remaining there, they were merely to show themselves amongst the islands, and return directly to Europe, raise the blockade of Ferrol, take the ships out, proceed to Brest, where there were about forty sail of the line, unite and sail to the Channel, where they would not have met with any thing strong enough to engage them, and clear it of all the English men of war. By false intelligence adroitly managed, I calculated that you would have sent squadrons to the East and West Indies, and Mediterranean, in search of my fleets. Before they could return, I would have had the command of the Channel for two months, as I should have had about 70 sail of the line, besides frigates. I would have hastened over my flotilla with *two hundred thousand men*, landed as near Chatham as possible, and proceeded direct to London, where I calculated to arrive in about four days from the time of my landing.

I would have proclaimed a *Republic*, (I was First Consul then) the *abolition of the Nobility and House of Peers*, the *distribution of the property* of such of the latter as opposed me, amongst my partisans; *liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people*.—I would have allowed the House of Commons to remain, but I would have introduced a great reform. I would have published a proclamation, declaring that we came as *friends to the English*, and to free the nation from a *corrupt and flagitious aristocracy*, and restore a popular form of government, a democracy, which would have been confirmed by the conduct of my army, as I would not have allowed the slightest outrage to be committed by my troops. Marauding or ill treating the inhabitants, or the most trifling infringement of my orders, I would have punished with instant death. I think" continued he, "that with my promises, together with what I would actually have effected, I should have had the support of a great many. In a large city like London, where there are so many *canaille*, and so many *disaffected*, I should have been joined by a formidable body. I would at the same time have excited an *insurrection in Ireland*." I observed that his army would have been destroyed piecemeal; that he would have a million of men in arms against him in a short time; and moreover, that the English would have burnt London, rather than have suffered it to fall into his hands. "No, no," said he, "I do not believe it. You are too rich, and too fond of money. A nation will not so readily burn its Capital. How often have the Parisians sworn to bury themselves under the ruins of their capital, rather than suffer it to fall into the hands of the enemies of France—yet twice it was taken. There is no knowing what would have happened, Mr. Doctor. Neither Pitt, nor you, nor I, could have foretold what would have been the result. The hope of a change for the better and a *division of property*, would have operated wonderfully amongst the *canaille*, particularly that of London. The *canaille* of all rich nations are alike. I would have made such *promises* as would have had a great effect. What resistance could an undisciplined army make against mine, in a country like England, abounding in plains? I considered all you have said; but I calculated on the effect that would be produced by the possession of a great and rich capital, the Bank, and all your riches, the ships in the river, and at Chatham. I expected that I should have had command of the Channel for two months, by which time I should have had supplies of troops; and when your fleet came back, they would have found their capital in the hands of an enemy, and their country overwhelmed with my armies. I would have abolished flogging, and promised your seamen every thing, which would have made a great impression upon their minds. The Proclamation stating that we came only as friends, to relieve the English from an odious and despotic aristocracy, whose object was to keep the nation eternally at war, in order to enrich themselves and their families with the blood of the people; together with the proclaiming a *Republic*, the *abolition of the Monarchical Government*; and of the *Nobility*; the declaration of the forfeiture of the *property* of the latter, and division of it among the partisans of the REVOLUTION, with a *general equalization of*

property, would have gained me the support of the *CANAILLE*, and of all the idle, the profligate, and the disaffected in the Kingdom."

"I took the liberty of stating, that on account of France having been lately revolutionized, there was a great diversity of opinion among the French, and consequently not so strong a national spirit as was to be found amongst the English; that from the late frequent vicissitudes in France, the people contemplated a change in government with less concern than the English would do; that if the English were not to burn their capital as the Russians had done, in all probability they would have defended it street by street; and his army would have met the fate that ours had experienced at Rosetta and Buenos Ayres.

"I believe," replied the Emperor, "that there is more national spirit in England than in France; but still I do not think that you would have burned the capital. If, indeed, you had some weeks notice given you, in order to remove your riches, then it is possible that it might have been effected; but you must consider that you would not have had sufficient time to organize a plan; besides, Moscow was built of wood, and it was *not* the inhabitants who set it on fire. They had also time to take their measures. As to defending the town, in the first place, I would not have been *bete* enough to have acted as you did at Rosetta; for before you would have had time to arrange your defence I should have been at your doors—and the terror of such an army would have paralyzed your exertions. I tell you, Signor Dottore, that much can be said on both sides—Having the capital, the capital," repeated he, "in my hands, would have produced a wonderful effect."

Napoleon related the following anecdote of his popularity with the people, and of the general feeling in France towards himself and the Bourbons:

"To give you an instance of the general feeling in France towards the Bourbons, I will relate to you an anecdote:—On my return from Italy, while my carriage was ascending the steep hill of Tarare, I got out and walked, without any attendants, as was often my custom. My wife and my suite were at a little distance behind me. I saw an old woman lame, hobbling about with the help of a crutch, endeavouring to ascend the mountain. I had a great coat on, and was not recognized. I went up to her, and said, well *ma bonne*, where are you going with a haste which so little belongs to your years? What is the matter? '*Ma foi*,' replied the old dame, 'they tell me the emperor is here, and I want to see him before I die.' Bah! bah! said I, what do you want to see him for—what have you gained by him? he is a tyrant as well as the others; you have only changed one tyrant for another, Louis for Napoleon. '*Mais Monsieur*, that may be, but after all he is the king of the people, and the Bourbons were the kings of the nobles; we have chosen him, and if we are to have a tyrant, let him be one chosen by ourselves.' There," said he, "you have the sentiments of the French nation expressed by an old woman."

He related to the author the following anecdote, and suggested the accompanying information and remarks concerning Alexander Emperor of Russia, whose character has been so highly extolled not only in England but in the United States. Napoleon expresses the fullest confidence that he was concerned in the murder of his father, the unfortunate Paul. Such is the man who is the soul of the holy alliance and a member of Peace and Bible Societies.

"Heard a curious anecdote of General Vandamme. When made a prisoner by the Russians, he was brought before the Emperor Alexander, who reproached him in bitter terms of being a robber, a plunderer and a murderer; adding, that no favor could be granted to such an execrable character. This was followed by an order that he should be sent to Siberia, whilst the other prisoners were sent to a much less northern destination. Vandamme replied with great *sang froid*, "It may be, sire, that I am a robber and a plunderer, but, at least, I have not to reproach myself with having soiled my hands with the blood of a father!"

"Mary," said he, "was better treated. She was permitted to write to whom she pleased, and she was confined in England: which of itself, was every thing. It appears that she was persecuted more on account of her religion by the Puritans, than from any other cause." — I observed that Mary was accused of having been an accomplice in the murder of her husband. He replied, "of that, there is not the smallest doubt; she even married his murderer afterwards——**** employs the murderers of his father. One of them, O——, is now his aid de camp. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that at Tilsit he observed to me that I paid a great deal of attention to B——, and begged to know my reasons for it. I answered because he is our general *Cependant* said——, *c'est un vilain coquin—c'est lui qui a assassiné mon pere*, and policy alone has obliged, and still obliges me to employ him, although I wish him dead, and in a short time will send him about his business—Alexander and the King of Prussia," continued he, "dining with me every day; and in order to pay a compliment to—— I had intended, on the day that this conversation took place, to have asked B—— to dinner, as being commander in chief of his army. This displeased—— who though he asked B—— to his own table, did not wish me to do so, because it would have raised him so high in the eyes of the Russians. Paul," continued he, "was murdered by B——, O——, P——, and others. There was a Cossac, in whom Paul had confidence, stationed at his door. The conspirators came up and demanded entrance. P—— told him who he was, and that he wanted to see the Emperor upon immediate business. The faithful Cossac refused. The conspirators fell upon him, and after a desperate resistance, overpowered and cut him to pieces. Paul, who was in bed, hearing the noise, got out and endeavored to escape to the Empress' apartments. Unluckily for himself, he in his suspicions, a day or two before had ordered the door of communication to be closed up. He then went and concealed himself in a press. Meanwhile the conspirators broke open the door and running to the bed, perceived that there was nobody in it. 'We are lost,' they cried; 'he has escaped,' P——, who had

more presence of mind than the rest, went to the bed, and putting his hand under the bed-clothes, said, 'the nest is warm, the bird cannot be far off. They then began to search, and finally dragged Paul out of his hiding place. They presented him a paper containing his abdication, which they wanted him to sign. He refused at first, and said that he would abdicate if they would release him. They then seized and knocked him down, and tried to suffocate him. Paul made a desperate resistance; and, fearful that assistance might arrive, B—— dispatched him, by stamping his heels into his eyes, and thus beating his brains out, while the others held him down. Paul, in his struggles for life, once got B——'s heel in his mouth, and bit a piece out of the skin of it." I asked if in his own mind he believed that —— was privy to the death of ——? "There is not a doubt," replied he "that the attempt was made with his consent. The Empress never could bear the sight of any of the murderers afterwards, and never would receive them; but one is now aid de camp to ——."

Napoleon requested the author when he arrived in Europe, to call on his brother Joseph and receive the private and confidential letters he had received during his prosperity, from Alexander, Francis of Prussia, and other Sovereigns.

"When you arrive in Europe, you will either go yourself, or send to my brother Joseph. You will inform him that I desire he shall give to you the parcel containing the private and confidential letters of the Emperors Alexander and Francis, the King of Prussia, and the other sovereigns of Europe with me, which I delivered to his care at Rochefort. You will publish them, to *courir de honte* those sovereigns, and manifest to the world the abject homage which those vassals paid to me, when asking favors or supplicating for their thrones. When I was strong and in power, *ils briguerent ma protection et l'honneur de mon alliance*, and licked the dust from under my feet. Now, in my old age, they basely oppress, and take my wife and children from me. I require of you to do this, and if you see any calumnies published of me during the time that you have been with me, and that you can say I have seen with my own eyes that this is not true, contradict them."

The following note by the author shews what importance was attached to these confidential letters :

"On my return to Europe I used every exertion to obtain the important letters in question. Unfortunately, however, for posterity, my efforts have not been attended with success. Before the count de Surveilliers had left Rochefort for America, apprehensive that he might be seized by the allied powers, he judged it prudent to deposit his precious charge in the hands of a person upon whose integrity he thought he could rely, but who, it has appeared since, basely betrayed the Count, as some months ago a person brought the original letters to London for sale, for which he demanded 30,000*l*. This was communicated to some of his majesty's ministers, and to the foreign ambassadors; and I have been credibly informed that the Russian ambassador paid 10,000*l*. to redeem those belonging to his master."

"Napoleon showed me the marks of two wounds, one a very deep cicatrice above the left knee, which, he said, he had received in his first campaign in Italy, and it was of so serious a nature, that the surgeons were in doubt whether it might not be ultimately necessary to amputate. He observed that when he was wounded, it was always kept a secret, in order not to discourage the soldiers. The other was on the toe, and had been received at Eckmühl. "At the siege of Acre," continued he, "a shell thrown by Sydney Smith fell at my feet. Two soldiers, who were close by, seized and closely embraced me, one in front, and the other on one side, and made a rampart of their bodies for me against the effect of the shell, which exploded, and overwhelmed us with sand. We sunk into the hole formed by its bursting; one of them was wounded. I made them both officers. One of them has since lost a leg at Moscow, and commanded at Vincennes when I left Paris. When he was summoned by the Russians, he replied, that as soon as they sent him back the leg he had lost at Moscow, he would surrender the fortress.

"Many times in my life," continued he, "have I been saved by soldiers and officers throwing themselves before me, when I was in the most imminent danger. At Arcola, when I was advancing, Col. Meuron, my aid-de-camp, threw himself before me, covered me with his body, and received the wound which was destined for me. He fell at my feet, and his blood spouted up in my face. He gave his life to preserve mine. Never yet, I believe, has there been such devotion shown by soldiers as mine have manifested for me. In all my misfortunes, never has the soldier, even when expiring, been wanting to me; never has man been served more faithfully by his troops. With the last drop of blood gushing out of their veins, they exclaimed "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

Napoleon requested O'Meara to collect for him all the books he could in which he was libelled, upon which he remarked, sometimes refuting them seriously, but more frequently noticing their slanders in a strain of ridicule. He in some instances related stories tending to explain the motives of authors. He gave the following account of Madame de Stael.

"Madame de Stael," said he, "was a woman of considerable talent and great ambition, but so extremely intriguing and restless as to give rise to the observation, that she would throw her friends into the sea, that at the moment of drowning she might have an opportunity of saving them. I was obliged to banish her from court. At Geneva she became very intimate with my brother Joseph, whom she gained by her conversation and writings. When I returned from Elba, she sent her son to be presented to me on purpose to ask payment of two millions which her father Neckar had lent out of his private property to Louis XVI. and to offer her services, provided I complied with this request. As I knew what he wanted, and thought that I could not grant it without ill-treating others who were in a similar predicament, I did not wish to see him, and gave directions that he should not be introduced. However, Joseph would not be denied, and brought him in spite of this order, the

attendants at the door not liking to refuse my brother, especially as he said he would be answerable for the consequences. I received him very politely, heard his business, and replied that I was very sorry it was not in my power to comply with his request, as it was contrary to the laws, and would do an injustice to many others. Madame de Stael was not, however, contented with this. She wrote a long letter to Fouché, in which she stated her claims, and that she wanted the money in order to portion her daughter in marriage to the Duc de Broglie, promising that, if I complied with her request, I might command her and hers; that she *would be black and white for me*. Fouché communicated this, and advised me strongly to comply, urging that, in so critical a time, she might be of considerable service. I answered that I would make no bargains.

“‘Shortly after my return from the conquest of Italy,’ continued he, ‘I was accosted by Madame de Stael in a large company, though at that time I avoided going out much in public. She followed me every where, and stuck so close I could not shake her off. At last she asked me, ‘who at this moment is *la première femme du monde*?’ intending to pay a compliment to me, and expecting that I would return it. I looked at her, and coldly replied, ‘she who has borne the greatest number of children,’ turned round and left her greatly confused and abashed.’ He concluded by observing, that ‘he could not call her a wicked woman, but that she was a restless *intrigante*, possessed of considerable talent and influence.’”

He gave the subjoined account of the execution of the Duc D’Enghien.

“‘It was found out,’ continued Napoleon, ‘by the confession of some of the conspirators, that the Duc D’Enghien was an accomplice, and that he was only waiting on the frontiers of France for the news of my assassination, upon receiving which, he was to have entered France as the king’s lieutenant. Was I to suffer that the Count D’Artois should send a parcel of miscreants to murder me; and that a prince of his house should hover on the borders of the country I governed, in order to profit by my assassination? According to the laws of nature, I was authorized to cause him to be assassinated in retaliation of the numerous attempts of the kind that he had before caused to be made against me. I gave orders to have him seized. He was tried and condemned by a law made long before I had any power in France. He was tried by a military commission, formed of all the colonels of the regiments then in garrison at Paris. He was accused of having borne arms against the republic, which he did not deny. When before the tribunal, he behaved with great bravery. When he arrived at Strasburg, he wrote a letter to me, in which he offered to discover every thing if pardon were granted to him; said that his family had lost their claims for a long time, and concluded by offering his services to me. This letter was delivered to Talleyrand, who concealed it until after his execution. Had the Count d’Artois been in his place, he would have suffered the same fate, and were I now placed under similar circumstances, I would act in a similar manner. As the police,’ added Napoleon, ‘did not like the evidence of Mehee de

la Touche alone, they sent Captain Rosey, a man in whose integrity they had every confidence, to Drake at Munich, with a letter from Mahee, which procured him an interview, the result of which confirmed Mahee's statement, that he was concerned in a plot to *terrasser le premier consul*, no matter by what means.*

But perhaps the most interesting part of the work, is the sketches 'drawn from the life,' which it contains of the most distinguished Generals, Statesmen, Ministers, &c. in France, and many in other parts of Europe. These sketches are lively and interesting, and most of them possess great truth and justice. No man had better means of knowing the distinguished men of his age, and no one was better calculated to form a correct estimate of their character than Bonaparte. The following is a very accurate character of MURAT, his brother-in-law.

"I informed him that Col. Macirone, aid-de-camp to Murat, had published some anecdotes of his late master. 'What does he say of me?' said Napoleon. I replied that I had not seen the book, but had been informed by Sir Thomas Ready that he spoke ill of him. 'Oh,' said he, laughing, 'that is nothing; I am well accustomed to it. But what does he say?' I answered, it was asserted that Murat had imputed the loss of the battle of Waterloo to the cavalry not having been properly employed, and had said, that if he (Murat) had commanded them, the French would have gained the victory. 'It is very probable,' replied Napoleon; 'I could not be every where; and Murat was the best cavalry officer in the world. He would have given more impetuosity to the charge. There wanted but very little, I assure you, to gain the day for me. *Enfoncer deux ou trois battallions*, and in all probability Murat would have effected that. There were not, I believe, two such officers in the world as Murat for the cavalry, and Drouot for the artillery. Murat was a most singular character. Four and twenty years ago, when he was a captain, I made him my aid-de-camp, and subsequently raised him to what he was. He loved, I may rather say, adored me. In my presence he was as it were struck with awe, and ready to fall at my feet. I acted wrong in having separated him from me, as without me he was nothing; with me he was my right arm. Order Murat to attack and destroy four or five thousand men in such a direction, it was done in a moment; but leave him to himself, he was *imbécile*, without judgment. I cannot conceive how so brave a man could be so *lache*. He was no where brave unless before the enemy. There he was probably the bravest man in the world. His boiling courage carried him into the midst of the enemy, *convert de pernes jusqu'au clocher*, and glittering with

* While the Duc d'Enghein was on his trial, Madame la Maréchale Bessiers said to Col. Ordener, who had arrested him, 'Are there no possible means to save that *Malheureux*? Has his guilt been established beyond a doubt?' 'Madame,' replied Col. Ordener, 'I found in his house sacks of papers sufficient to compromise the half of France.' The Duke was executed in the morning, and not by torch-light, as has been represented.

gold. How he escaped is a miracle, being, as he was, always a distinguished mark, and fired at by every body. Even the Cossacs admired him on account of his extraordinary bravery. Every day Murat was engaged in single combat with some of them, and never returned without his sabre dropping with the blood of those whom he had slain. He was a Puladine, in fact a Don Quixotte, in the field, but take him into the cabinet, he was a poltroon, without judgment or decision. Murat and Ney were the bravest men I ever witnessed. Murat, however, was a much nobler character than Ney. Murat was generous and open; Ney partook of the *canaille*. Strange to say, however, Murat, though he loved me, did me more mischief than any other person in the world. When I left Elba I sent a messenger to acquaint him with what I had done. Immediately he must attack the Austrians. The messenger went upon his knees to prevent him; but in vain. He thought me already master of France, Belgium, and Holland, and that he must make his peace, and not adhere to *demi-measures*. Like a madman, he attacked the Austrians with his *canaille*, and ruined me. For at that time there was a negotiation going on between Austria and me, stipulating that the former should remain neuter, which would have been finally concluded, and I should have reigned undisturbed. But as soon as Murat attacked the Austrians, the Emperor immediately conceived he was acting by my direction, and indeed it will be difficult to make posterity believe to the contrary. Metternich said, 'Oh, the Emperor Napoleon is the same as ever—a man of iron. The trip to Elba has not changed him. Nothing will ever alter him; all or nothing for him.' Austria joined the coalition, and I was lost. Murat was unconscious that my conduct was regulated by circumstances, and adapted to them. He was like a man gazing at the scenes shifting at the opera, without ever thinking of the machinery behind, by which the whole is moved. He never, however, thought that his secession, in the first instance, would have been so injurious to me, or he would not have joined the allies. He concluded that I should be obliged to give up Italy and some other countries, but never contemplated my total ruin."

"There are many sketches of Murat, but this is the best. It was Mr. O'Meara who communicated to Napoleon the intelligence of Murat's death. 'He heard it (says he) with calmness, and immediately demanded if he perished in the field of battle.' He afterwards remarked, that the conduct of the Calabrese towards Murat was mercy compared with the treatment which he was experiencing."

Of the death and character of general Moreau he speaks as follows:—

"In the battle before Dresden, I ordered an attack to be made upon the allies by both flanks of my army. While the manœuvres for this purpose were executing, the centre remained motionless. At a distance from this to the outer gate, I observed a group of persons collected together on horseback. Concluding that they were endeavoring to observe my manœuvres, I resolved to disturb them, and called to a captain of artillery who commanded a field

battery of eighteen or twenty pieces ; *Jettez une douzaine de boulets a la fois dans ce groupe la, peutetre il y en a quelques petits gene-
raux.* (Throw a dozen of bullets at once into that group ; perhaps there are some little generals in it.) It was done instantly. One of the balls struck Moreau, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. Many more, I believe, who were near him, were killed and wounded. A moment before, Alexander had been speaking to him. Moreau's legs were amputated not far from the spot. One of his feet, with the boot upon it, which the surgeons had thrown upon the ground, was brought by a peasant to the King of Saxony, with information that some officer of great distinction had been struck by a cannon-shot. The King conceiving that the name of the person might, perhaps, be discovered by the boot, sent it to me. It was examined at my head-quarters, but all that could be ascertained was, that the boot was neither of English nor of French manufacture. The next day, we were informed that it was the leg of Moreau. It is not a little extraordinary," continued Napoleon, "that in an action a short time afterwards, I ordered the same artillery-officer, with the same guns and under nearly similar circumstances, to throw eighteen or twenty bullets at once into a concourse of officers collected together, by which Gen. Saint Priest, another Frenchman, a traitor and a man of talent, who had a command in the Russian army, was killed, along with many others.

"Nothing," continued the Emperor, "is more destructive than a discharge of a dozen or more guns at once amongst a group of persons. From one or two they may escape ; but from a number, discharged at a time, it is almost impossible. After, at Esling, when I had caused my army to go over to the isle of Lobau, there was for some weeks, by common and tacit consent on both sides between the soldiers, not by any agreement between the generals, a cessation of firing, which indeed had produced no benefit, and only killed a few unfortunate sentinels. I rode out every day in different directions. No person was molested on either side. One day, however, riding along with Oudinot, I stopped for a moment upon the edge of the island, which was about eight toises distant from the opposite bank, where the enemy was. They perceived us, and knowing me by the little hat and grey coat, they pointed a three pounder at us. The ball passed between Oudinot and me, and was very close to both of us. We put spurs to our horses, and speedily got out of sight. Under the actual circumstances, the attack was little better than murder ; but if they had fired a dozen guns at once, they must have killed us."

"Moreau was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army. With a hundred thousand men, Moreau would divide his army in different positions, covering roads, and would not do more than if he had only one thousand. He did not know how to profit either by the number of his troops or by their positions. Very calm and cool in the field, he was more collected and better able to command in the heat of an action than to make dispositions prior to it. He was often seen smoking his pipe in battle. Moreau was not naturally a man of bad heart, good liver, without much character. He was led away by his wife and another intriguing Creole. His having joined Pichegru and Georges in the conspiracy and subsequently having closed his life fighting against his country, will ever disgrace his memory. As a general Moreau was infinitely inferior to Desaix, or to Kleber, or even to Soult. Of

all the generals I ever had under me, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents ; especially Desaix, as Kleber only loved glory inasmuch as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures, whereas Desaix loved glory for itself, and despised every thing else. Desaix was wholly wrapped up in war and glory. To him riches and pleasures were valueless, nor did he give them a moment's thought. He was a little black looking man, about an inch shorter than I am, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising comfort or convenience. When in Egypt, I made him a present of a complete field-equipage several times, but he always lost it. Wrapt up in a cloak, Desaix threw himself under a gun, and slept as comfortably as if he were in a palace. For him luxury had no charms. Upright and honest in all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs *the just Sultan*. He was intended by nature for a great general. Kleber and Desaix were a loss irreparable to France. Had Kleber lived, your army in Egypt would have perished. Had that imbecile Menon attacked you on your landing with twenty thousand men, as he might have done, instead of the division Lanusse, your army would have been only a meal for them. Your army was seventeen or eighteen thousand strong, without cavalry."

He gave the following character to several distinguished individuals.

CARNOT.

"A man laborious and sincere, but liable to the influence of intrigues and easily deceived. Carnot directed the operations of war without having merited the eulogiums which were pronounced upon him, as he had neither the experience nor the habitude of war. When minister of war, he showed but little talents, and had many quarrels with the ministers of finance and the treasury ; in all of which he was wrong. He left the ministry convinced that he could not fulfil his station for want of money. He afterwards voted against the establishment of the empire ; but as his conduct was always upright, he never gave any umbrage to the government. During the prosperity of the empire, he never asked for any thing ; but after the misfortunes of Russia, he demanded employment, and got the command of Antwerp, where he acquitted himself very well. After Napoleon's return from Elba, he was minister of the interior ; and the emperor had every reason to be satisfied with his conduct. He was faithful, a man of truth and probity, and laborious in his exertions. After the abdication, he was named one of the provisional government, but he was played on by the intriguers by whom he was surrounded. He had passed for an original amongst his companions when he was young. He hated the nobles, and on that account had several quarrels with Robespierre, who latterly protected many of them. He was member of the committee of public safety along with Robespierre, Conthon, St. Just, and the other butchers, and was the only one who was not denounced. He afterwards demanded to be included in the denunciation, and to be tried for his conduct, as well as the others, which was refused ; but his having made the demand to share the fate of the rest gained him great credit."

CLARKE.

I asked his opinion of Clarke. He replied, "he is not a man of talent, but he is laborious and useful in the *bureau*. He is, moreover, incorruptable and saving of the public money, which he never has appropriated to his own use. He is an excellent *redacteur*. He is not a soldier, however, nor do I believe that he ever saw a shot fired in his life. He is infatuated with his nobility. He pretends that he is descended from the ancient kings of Scotland or Ireland, and constantly vaunts of his noble descent. A good clerk, I sent him to Florence as ambassador, where he employs himself in nothing but turning over the old musty records of the place, in search of proofs of the nobility of my family, for you must know that they came from Florence. He plagued me with letters upon this subject, which caused me to write to him to attend to the business for which he had been sent to Florence, and not to trouble his head or mine with his nonsense about nobility; that I was the *first* of my family. Notwithstanding this, he still continued his inquiries. When I returned from Elba, he offered his services to me, but I sent him word that I would not employ any traitors, and ordered him to his estates." I asked if he thought that Clarke would have served him faithfully? "Yes," replied the emperor, "as long as I was the strongest, like a great many others."

MADAME TALLEYRAND.

"Madame Talleyrand was a very fine woman, English or East Indian, but stupid and grossly ignorant. I sometimes asked Denon, whose works I suppose you have read, to breakfast with me, as I took a pleasure in his conversation, and conversed very freely with him. Now all the intriguers and speculators paid their court to Denon, with a view of inducing him to mention their projects or themselves in the course of his conversations with me, thinking that even being mentioned by such a man as Denon, for whom I had a great esteem, might materially serve them. Talleyrand who was a great speculator, invited Denon to dinner.—When he went home to his wife, he said, my dear, I have invited Denon to dine. He is a great traveller, and you must say something handsome to him about his travels, as he may be useful to us with the Emperor. His wife being extremely ignorant, and probably never having read any other book of travels than that of Robinson Crusoe, concluded that Denon could be nobody else than Robinson. Wishing to be very civil to him, she, before a large company, asked him divers questions about his man Friday! Denon, astonished, did not know what to think at first, but at length discovered by her questions that she really imagined him to be Robinson Crusoe. His astonishment and that of the company cannot be described, nor the peals of laughter which it excited in Paris, as the story flew like wild-fire through the city, and even Talleyrand himself was ashamed of it."

TALLEYRAND.

"At one time I had appointed Talleyrand to proceed on a mission to Warsaw, in order to arrange and organize the best method

of accomplishing the separation of Poland from Russia. He had several conferences with me respecting this mission, which was a great surprize to the ministers, as Talleyrand had no official character at the time. Having married one of his relations to the duchess of Courland, Talleyrand was very anxious to receive the appointment, in order to revive the claims of the duchess's family. However, some money transactions of his were discovered at Vienna, which convinced me that he was carrying on his old games, and determined me not to employ him on the intended mission. I had designed at one time to have made him a cardinal, with which he refused to comply. Madame Grand threw herself twice upon her knees before me in order to obtain permission to marry him, which I refused; but through the entreaties of Josephine, she succeeded on the second application. I afterwards forbade her the court, when I discovered the Genoa affair, of which I told you before. Latterly, Talleyrand sunk into contempt."

PRESENT KING OF PRUSSIA.

"I asked Napoleon if the King of Prussia was a man of talent. 'Who,' said he, 'the king of Prussia?' He burst into a fit of laughter. 'He a man of talent! The greatest blockhead on earth; an ignorant man, with neither talent nor information; a Don Quixote in appearance.—I know him well. He cannot hold a conversation for five minutes.'"

Napoleon gave some curious information as to the secret management of the Post-Office, and the artifices of diplomacy.

'I suppose,' added he, 'that Montchenu is very glad to hear of my illness. By what channels does he send his letters to France?' I replied, that he sent them through the Governor and Lord Bathurst. 'Then, they are all opened and read in London by your ministers.' I replied, that I was ignorant of their having recourse to such practices. 'Because,' said Napoleon, 'you have never been in a situation to know any thing about it. I tell you, that the despatches of all the Ambassadors, and other diplomatics, that pass through the Post Office are opened. Otto told me, that when in London, he ascertained this to be a fact beyond a doubt.' I said, I had heard that in all the states on the Continent, official letters were opened. 'Certainly they are,' answered Napoleon, 'but they have not the impudence to deny it, like your Ministers, though it is carried to as great an extent amongst you, as any where else. 'In France,' continued the Emperor, 'an arrangement was made, so that all the letters, sent by the Ambassadors, or other diplomatic characters, all their household, and all persons connected with foreign affairs, were sent to a secret department of the Post Office in Paris, no matter in what part of France they were put in.—All letters or despatches, in like manner, for foreign courts or ministers, were sent to this office, where they were opened and deciphered. The writers sometimes made use of several different ciphers, not continuing the same for more than ten lines, in order to prevent their being understood. This, however, did not answer, as, in order to deci-

pher the most ingenious and difficult, it was only necessary to have fifty pages of the same cipher, which, from the extent of the correspondence, was soon to be had.

So cleverly were the agents employed, and so soon did they read the ciphers, that, latterly only fifty louis were paid for the discovery of the means of deciphering a new one. By opening all the letters addressed to the diplomatic persons, the post office police got acquainted with their correspondence, to whom all letters addressed subsequently were treated in a similar manner. The ambassadors suspected that there were some infidelities committed upon their correspondence, and, to prevent it, used generally to change their cipher every three months. But this only gave a little additional trouble. They sent their letters sometimes to a post office town a few miles distant from where they actually resided, thinking that that they were very cunning, and would thus escape observation, not knowing the arrangement I have mentioned to you. The ambassadors of the lesser powers, such as Denmark, Sweden, and even Prussia, used, through avarice to save the expense of couriers, to send their dispatches through the post office in cipher, which were opened and deciphered, and the most important part of their contents copied, and communicated to me (never to the Ministers) by ****. By these means I knew the contents of the dispatches that Bernstorff, ****, and others, sent to their courts, before they arrived at their destination; for they were always sealed up, and sent on after we had done with them. Several of them, especially of those of Bernstorff, were full of injurious reflections upon me, censures on my conduct, and fabricated conversations with me.

How often have I laughed within myself, to see them licking the dust from under my feet at my levee, after having read in the morning the *botises* they had written of me to their sovereigns. We used, also, frequently, to discover very important matters which they had communicated to them in confidence from the Ambassadors of Russia, and Austria, and of your country, (when you had one in Paris,) who always send their dispatches by couriers of their own, which prevented me from being acquainted with the nature of them. Through the correspondence of the lesser powers, I became acquainted with the opinions of the greater. The cleverness of those who conducted this machinery was astonishing. There was no species of writing which they could not imitate perfectly; and in the post office were kept seals similar to those used by the ambassadors of all the powers of Europe, independent of an immense number of others, belonging to families of different countries.—If they met with a seal for which they had not a fac-simile, they could get one made in twenty-four hours. This arrangement, continued he, 'was not an invention of mine. It was first begun by Louis the Fourteenth, and some of the grand-children of the agents originally employed by him, filled in my time situations which had been transmitted to them from their fathers. But,' added he, 'Castlereagh does the same thing in London. All letters to and from diplomatic persons, which pass the post-office, are opened, and the contents forwarded to him or some other of your Ministers; and they must be aware that a similar practice is followed in France.'

It is a curious fact, and one mortifying enough to human greatness, that Napoleon declared that the happiest days he ever passed were when he was but a private man, "living in a lodging near Paris." Being asked by Mr. O'Meara what was his happiest point of time after his ascension to the throne, he instantly replied, "the march from Cannes to Paris." This, our readers will doubtless recollect, was after the expedition from Elba. He declares that he had no idea of departing from Elba at first; and that, on the contrary, he would have contentedly remained there, had it not been for the numberless violations of the treaty of Fontainebleau by the allies: amongst the most prominent of which he enumerates the following: He says it was stipulated that all the members of his family should be permitted to follow him, and that this was violated by the almost instant seizure of his wife and child; that they were to have had the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, of which they were deprived; that Prince Eugene was to have had a principality in Italy, which was never given; that his mother and brothers were to receive pensions, which were withheld; that his own private property, and the savings which he had made on the civil list, were to be preserved to him, but that on the contrary they were seized; that the private property of his family was to be held sacred, but it was confiscated; that the donations assigned to the army, on the Mont Napoleon, were to be preserved, but they were suppressed; that 100,000 francs, which were to be paid as pensions to persons pointed out by him, were never paid; at last, that assassins were sent to Elba to murder him.

On the subjects both of his elevation and his fall, he is extremely minute and interesting. Our readers may recollect two reports, which in this country certainly gained considerable currency; one, that Napoleon owed much of his rise to Barras; and the other, that he at one time in his early life offered his services to England.—Both of these he declares to be "romans," and says he did not know Barras till long after the siege of Toulon, where he was chiefly indebted to Gasparin the deputy for Orange, who protected him against the *ignorantiacci*, sent down by the Convention; he goes on to say that Paoli always anticipated his elevation, and when he was a boy used frequently to pat him on the head and say, *You are one of Plutarch's men*. On the subject of his fall, in answer to a question from Mr. O'Meara, whether he did not consider Baron Stein as mainly instrumental to it? he said immediately, "No—none but myself ever did me any harm; I was, I may say, the only enemy to myself; my own projects—that expedition to Moscow, and the accidents which happened there, were the cause of my fall. I may, however, say, that those who made no opposition to me, who readily agreed with me, entered into all my views, and submitted with facility, were my greatest enemies; because, by the facility of conquest they afforded, they encouraged me to go too far." How happy would it be for the world if kings reflected upon this in time! In his exile, Napoleon seems to have solaced himself much with the idea that Marie Louise was still strongly attached to him, and he was repeatedly recurring to the mention of the King of Rome."

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

1769	Aug. 15	Born at Ajaccio, in the Island of Corsica.
1779	March	Placed at the Military School at Brienne.
1793		An officer of Artillery at the siege of Toulon, where he distinguished himself, and is appointed General of Brigade.
1796		Appointed to the command of the Army of Italy.
	May 11	Defeats the Austrians at Lodi.
	Aug. 3	Battle of Castiglione.
	Nov. 16	Obtains a splendid victory over the Austrians at Arcola.
1797	Feb. 4	Mantua surrenders to the French.
	April 18	Austria sues for peace, and preliminaries are signed at Leoben.
	Oct. 17	Treaty of Campo Formio with Austria.
1798	May 20	Sails for Egypt with 15 ships of war and 40,000 men.
	July 21	Victory of the Pyramids.
1799	May 21	Siege of Acre raised.
	Oct. 7	Lands at Frejus.
	Nov. 9	Bonaparte dissolves the Conventional Government.
	10	Declared First Consul.
1800	June 16	Obtains a great victory at Marengo.
	July 28	Preliminaries with Austria, signed at Paris.
1801	Feb. 9	Treaty of Luneville with Austria.
	Oct. 8	Preliminaries with England.
1802	Mar. 27	Definitive Treaty with England.
	Aug. 2	Declared Consul for life.
1803	May 18	English Declaration of War.
1804	May 18	Bonaparte declared Emperor.
	Nov. 19	Crowned Emperor by the Pope.
1805	May 26	Declared King of Italy.
	Sept. 24	Heads his army against Austria.
	Nov. 13	French enter Vienna.
	Dec. 2	Obtains a splendid victory at Austerlitz, over Austria, Prussia and Russia.
	15	Treaty of Vienna with Prussia.
	26	Treaty of Presburgh with Austria.
1806	Sept. 26	Marches against Prussia.
	Oct. 14	Gains a complete victory over the Prussians at Jena.
	27	Enters Berlin victorious.
1807	Feb. 3	Battle of Eylau against Russia.
	June 14	Battle of Friedland.
	July 7	Treaty of Tilsit with Russia.
1808	July 7	Joseph Bonaparte made King of Spain.
	June 29	Joseph Bonaparte evacuates Madrid.
	Aug. 21	Battle of Vimiera.

1808	Sept. 27	Conferences at Erfurth.
	Nov. 5	Bonaparte arrives at Vittoria.
	Dec. 4	Madrid surrenders to Bonaparte.
1809	Jan. 16	Victory of the French over the English and Spanish army at Corunna.
	April 6	War declared by Austria.
	May 10	French enter Vienna.
	22	Bonaparte obtains a victory at Essling.
	July 6	Battle of Wagram.
	Oct. 14	Treaty of Vienna with Austria.
1810	Mar. 11	Marries Marie Louisa, daughter of Francis II. Emperor of Austria.
	July 9	Holland annexed to the French Empire by a decree of Bonaparte.
	Aug. 21	Bernadotte elected crown prince of Sweden.
1811	April 20	The Empress delivered of a son, stiled King of Rome.
1812	May 2	Heads a vast army against Russia.
	June 11	Arrives at Koningsburgh.
	Aug. 18	Obtains a splendid victory at Smolensko.
	Sept. 7	Grand Battle of Moscow at Borodino.
	14	Napoleon enters Moscow victorious, which is burnt.
	Oct. 22	French evacuate Moscow.
	Nov. 9	Arrives at Smolensko.
	Dec. 5	Bonaparte quits the army.
	18	Arrives at Paris.
1813	April	Heads the army on the Elbe.
	May 1	Obtains a victory at Lutzen against Russia & Prussia.
	20	Battle of Bautzen.
	June 4	Armistice agreed upon.
	21	Battle of Vittoria in Spain.
	Aug. 17	Hostilities recommence, and Austria declares against Bonaparte.
	28	Obtains a victory at Dresden—Moreau killed.
	Sept. 7	English enter France.
	28	Bonaparte evacuates Dresden.
	Oct. 18	Battle of Leipsic—Bonaparte defeated.
	Nov. 15	Revolution in Holland.
1814	Jan. 4	Allies cross the Rhine.
	Mar. 30	Battle of Montmatre before Paris.
	April 11	Bonaparte abdicates the throne of France.
	May 8	Arrives at Elba.
1815	Mar. 1	Sails from Elba for France.
	20	Arrives at Paris and reassumes the throne.
	April 25	Is declared an out-law by the sovereigns of Europe.
	June 16	Defeats the Prussians.
	18	Loses his army at Waterloo, near Mount St. Jean.
	21	Abdicates the throne a second time.
	July 22	Surrenders himself to an English ship of War.
	Aug. 7	Sails for St. Helena, where he arrives Oct. 17, 1815.
1821	May 5	Died of a Cancer in the breast.

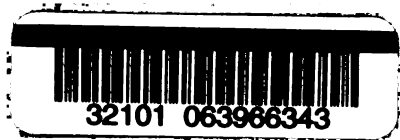
A TABULAR VIEW

Of the most celebrated Battles in which Bonaparte was engaged.

1. VELLIAU DEGO.	{ The Austrians lost 9,000 prisoners and 2,500 killed.
2. LODI.	{ The loss of the Austrians 3,000 killed, wounded and prisoners, 20 pieces of cannon.
3. ARCOLA.	{ The Austrians lost 5,000 prisoners, 8,000 killed and wounded, 18 pieces of cannon and 4 stands of colours.
4. CHEBREISSE.	{ Mameluke's about 4,000, nearly all killed.
5. PYRAMIDS.	{ Mamelukes, &c. amounted to 15,000, killed 3000, taken 40 pieces of cannon and 400 camels.
6. JAFFA.	{ 14,500 of the Ottomans killed and taken prisoners.
7. MOUNT TABOR.	{ The Ottomans 35,000, killed and prisoners 6,000—French force 4,000.
8. ABOUKIR.	{ Ottomans 15 or 20,000—killed 2000, several thousands drowned, few escaped.
9. MARENGO.	{ Force of the Austrians, &c. 60,000—of the French 45,000—loss of the enemy, 8,000 killed and wounded, 7,000 prisoners, 26 pieces of cannon, 12 standards—French loss 800 killed, 2,000 wounded and 1,100 prisoners.
10. HELIOPOLIS.	{ The Ottomans 80,000—The French under Kleber 15,000—loss of Turks 8000 killed besides wounded and prisoners.
11. ULM.	{ The Austrians 80,000 ; loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, 50,000.
12. AUSTERLITZ.	{ Allies 100,000 ; their loss 30,000 prisoners, 120 pieces of cannon, 40 standards, 20 generals ; force of the French 80,000.

13. JENA.	{ Russian force 240,000 ; their loss 20,000 killed, 40,000 prisoners, 300 pieces of cannon ; force of French, more than 200,000, their loss 5,000.
14. FRIEDLAND.	{ Loss of Russians 12,000, 80 pieces of cannon ; loss of French 500 killed and 3,000 wounded.
15. ESSLING.	{ Amount of Austrians 75,000, their loss 12,000 killed ; loss of the French 1,100 killed, 3,000 wounded.
16. WAGRAM.	{ French army 150,000, their loss 1500 killed and 4000 wounded ; Austrian army 150,000, their loss 20,000 prisoners, 40,000 killed, wounded and missing, and 40 pieces of cannon.
17. BORODINO.	{ Amount of French 120,000, their loss 20,000 ; the Russian 130,000, their loss 40,000 killed and wounded.
18. LUTZEN.	{ French army 170,000 ; allied army 200,000—loss very severe on both sides ; the allies retreated.
19. BEAUTZEN.	{ French 170,000—loss 12,000 killed and wounded ; allies 200,000—loss 30,000 killed, wounded and prisoners.
20. DRESDEN.	{ French 130,000 ; allies 170,000, their loss severe, but unknown ; the French loss 10,000 prisoners.
21. LEIPZIG.	{ French army 120,000, their loss in killed, wounded and prisoners 40,000 —allied army 200,000, their loss unknown.
22. MONTMIRAIL.	{ The French 50,000 ; Russians 70,000, their loss 2,000 prisoners, 24 pieces of cannon.
23. LOAN.	{ French army 50,000, their loss 5,000 prisoners and 48 pieces of cannon ; allies 70,000.
24. PARIS.	{ French force 40,000 ; the allies 150 000.

25. LIGNY.	{ Amount of French 70,000 ; Prussians 90,000 ; loss of Prussians in killed, wounded and prisoners 25,000, and 20,000 disbanded and dispersed, 40 pieces of cannon, 80 standards : loss of French 6,950 killed and wounded.
26. QUATRE BRAS.	{ Between a division of the French army under Ney, and a division of the English under the Prince of Orange ; loss of the English 9,000, of the French 3,400.
27. WATERLOO.	{ The French army 69,000, their loss 20,000 killed and wounded, and 7,000 prisoners ; the English and Prussian forces amounted to 150,000 ; the English army sustained a loss in killed and wounded of about 15,000—that of the Prussians severe, but uncertain.—The loss of the allied armies during the campaign of four days, was 60,000 men—the loss of the French during the campaign, including the retreat, was 41,000.



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